

VEDIC VARIANTS



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VEDIC VARIANTS

A Study of the Variant Readings in the Repeated
Mantras of the Veda

BY

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Volume I
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PREFACE

Here is presented the first volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS. The aim of this work is to present a grammatical and stylistic study of the entire mass of the variant readings in the repeated mantras of the Vedic tradition, as revealed primarily by Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*. That book presents a complete 'index to every line of every stanza of the [then] published Vedic literature [and of some works not yet published at the time], and to the liturgical formulas thereof.' Of its some 90,000 entries, not far from a third occur more than once, either in the same text or in different texts. Of the repeated text-units, again, it is estimated that about one-third show variations. The VEDIC VARIANTS are concerned with the variant readings of these repeated mantras, numbering roughly 10,000.

As to extent, the variations range all the way from change of a single letter in a single word, to radical rearrangements of the whole text. They may or may not be accompanied by shift of meaning, great or slight. They may be assumed to have been made sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously. As to character, they are of the most varied sort. They concern phonetics, the interrelation of different sounds and sound-changes, various departments of morphology, such as formation of stems of nouns, pronouns, and verbs, their inflection, and suffixation; syntax; order of words in the sentence, synonyms, meter, etc. There is hardly an important paragraph in Vedic grammar, or a department of the textual criticism and exegesis of the Veda, on which they fail to throw light.

Furthermore, it is believed that the Variants will have great interest and value for general linguistics. The literature of the world happens to contain no analogous body of material which can compare with them in size and scope. The tradition of the Veda was at first oral; and

what was originally one and the same stanza or formula was handed down in the texts of the various schools in more or less varying forms. The variants are often of the same general character as those which appear in the various forms of ballads, or of church hymns: there are simple differences in the order of words; differences due to the substitution of a more familiar, handy, or modern word or grammatical form for an archaic, inconvenient, or obsolescent one of equivalent meaning or function [or the converse of this, due to a conscious archaizing tendency]. To this must be added the very important point that there are also many

cases in which a given mantra passage, composed under certain definite circumstances, was later on adapted and changed to serve a new purpose

Furthermore, Vedic literary production is often in a high degree imitative and mechanical [a trait which it shares with most religious literature] The poets or priests, more or less consciously, fell into habits of expression such that entire lines of different stanzas or hymns, and considerable sequences of words of different prose passages, show much similarity.

So, but for the bracketed phrases, Bloomfield wrote in the Preface to his *Concordance*, before he had systematically studied the Variants. Later he would probably have laid greater stress on the presumably unconscious element in the variations, which was perhaps at least as weighty as the conscious, and is certainly at least as interesting linguistically. I suspect, at any rate, that we learn even more about the speech-habits of the Vedic priests from the changes which they introduced without realizing it, than from their deliberate alterations. But whether conscious or unconscious—and at this distance it is obviously impossible to separate the two classes with confidence—any linguistic scholar will see at a glance how many interesting observations can be drawn from these thousands of variations, touching on every field of grammar and of linguistic psychology.

From the pages of the *Concordance*, Bloomfield collected and classified the Variants in a preliminary way, arranging them topically under ten or a dozen main heads, with numerous subdivisions in each. Of course very many passages had to be included several times over under different headings. This preliminary spade-work was completed when he proposed to the present writer a collaborative enterprise, which offer was gladly accepted. This was about 1913. In the next half-dozen years I worked up from Bloomfield's lists, supplemented by further gleanings of my own, a preliminary draft of four of the major sections of the work: those on Phonetics (including Euphonic Combination or Sandhi), on Noun Formation (stems and suffixes), on Noun Inflection, and on Order of Words. Bloomfield completed the first draft of the greater part of the section on the Verb. There the matter rested, for lack of prospect of publication. Bloomfield left collectanea on Synonyms, Pronouns, and Prepositions and Particles, and a few minor lists, in addition to those already mentioned. A section on Meter would also be desirable.

On Bloomfield's death in 1928, I took charge of the entire work, and I have since revised and completed the section on the Verb, here presented. It seems best to publish it first, since the major part of it

can be issued substantially as it came from the pen of one of the world's greatest Vedists and linguistic scholars.

The publication has been made possible by the generous aid of the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, and of the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES, to both of which hearty thanks are due and are hereby tendered. The surviving author also desires to express his deep appreciation of the staunch and effective support given to the project by the Chairman of the Committee on Publications of the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, Professor George Melville Bolling.

Since the work on the Variants has been a collaborative enterprise, and since it was Bloomfield's intention that it should appear over our joint names, no attempt has been made to separate the contributions of the two authors. It would, indeed, be impossible to make such a separation completely. Credit belongs to Bloomfield alone for the general plan of the whole work on the Variants; it was he who conceived it and sketched its outlines. He also prepared, from the Concordance, the preliminary lists of materials for this as well as for nearly all the volumes to follow. To some extent these lists have been expanded by further search on my part, in the Concordance and elsewhere. Moreover, it was Bloomfield, as stated above, who prepared for publication the first draft of the major part of this volume, on the Verb. To be exact, he wrote out a draft of all except the long chapter on Person and Number, the last in the book. I have checked and revised his manuscript, verifying most of the references from the original texts, and making such changes as seemed to me necessary. Most of the changes were of the sort which I am confident he would have made himself in a final revision. I have preserved his language thruout as far as it was possible to do so. A more radical revision of some paragraphs has been made necessary by the appearance, since Bloomfield wrote his manuscript, of new publications, as for instance Renou's valuable dissertation on *La valeur du parfait dans les hymnes védiques* (Paris, 1925). When I have made such far-reaching changes, and whenever I could not feel entirely confident that Bloomfield would have been in agreement with what I have written, I have enclosed my additions or substitutions in [square brackets], followed by the initials of my name. I hope and believe that, even in these parts (which are not numerous), I have written little that would not have met with his approval. The chapter on Person and Number is entirely my work, aside from the gathering of the preliminary lists, which in this case proved to be rather

incomplete. Under the circumstances I must perforce accept entire responsibility for the final form of the work as printed, as well as for that of all the volumes to follow. In them, unhappily, Bloomfield's share will be much smaller than in this volume; altho I am glad to say that some of the others, notably that on Phonetics, received considerable attention from him.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The abbreviations used need little explanation. Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance; except that, of course, the letter ś is substituted for ç, as also in all Sanskrit words, in accordance with the now prevalent international usage. Other abbreviations are rarely used and, it is hoped, will be self-explanatory. *RVRep* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*.

Two symbols, which are frequently used, require explanation: the asterisk * and the dagger †.

The asterisk * is used to indicate a variant reading of one text when the mantra occurs in the same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute. For instance: *satyam vadiṣyāmi* (TA.* *vadiṣye*) TA. (bis) TU. ŚG, MG. This means that TA. has the pāda in both forms, namely, *satyam vadiṣyāmi*, and *satyam vadiṣye*.

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance. For instance: *taḥ satyam yad vīram bibhṛtaḥ* (MŚ † *taḥ*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. This means that the reading of MŚ. is wrongly quoted in the Concordance (it fails to note the variant *bibhṛtaḥ*).

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTORY

Scope and plan of this work

§1. The variations in verbal inflexion are concerned with every leading aspect under which the verb is treated in the grammars. They are, however, dealt with here not in the usual order of the Sanskrit grammars, but either according to their relative importance, or in accordance with certain logical and practical conveniences. These interchanges are, in any case, heterogeneous, partly formal, partly syntactical, and partly stylistic; the boundary lines between these kinds are hazy. The more important rubrics, such as voice, mood, and tense, are, moreover, so large a part of the whole as to call for first consideration, to some extent they serve as a convenient background for assorting and placing the remaining interchanges. It has seemed best then to present the subject under the following nine larger rubrics:

- II. The Voices
- III. The Moods
- IV. The Tenses and Tense-Systems
- V. The Secondary Conjugations
- VI Interchange between finite Verbs and Verbal Nouns
- VII Interchanges of equivalent Personal Endings
- VIII. Matters pertaining to Augment and Reduplication
- IX. Variation in Grade of Stems and Allied Matters
- X. Person and Number

§2. By way of illustrating the combined effects of most, or at least many, of these phases of verbal variation in the case of a given root, we have chosen the root *hū* 'call'. The interchanges practised on the body of this root are gathered in the following list:

huve nu (RV. VS. KS MahānU. *hṛayāmi*) *śakraṁ puruhūtām indram*

RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.

sarasvatīm sukrīto ahvayanta (AV *havante*; comm. *ahvayanta*) RV. AV. KS.

sarvān agnīṁ apsuzado huve vaḥ (MS. om *vaḥ*) TS. MS AB : *śiṅān agnīm apsuzado havāmahe* AV.

marutvantaṁ saḥhyāya havāmahe (SV. *huvemaḥi*) RV. SV.

tam (RV om) *sarasvantam avase huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*; RV. KS *johavīmī*) RV RVKh. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agnim (AV *ukthair*, MahānU *ugram*) *huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhashtāt* AV TA. MahānU

rtasya patnīm avase huvema (AV. *harāmahe*) AV. VS TS MS. KS AŚ. ŚŚ.

prālarjūtam bhagam ugram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV AV. VS TB ApMB N

prātah somam uta rudram huvema (AV. *harāmahe*) RV. AV VS TB ApMB.

mano nr ā huvāmahe (Vait. °hi, VS ŚB KŚ Kauś *huvāmahe*) RV VS. VSK. TS MS. KS. AB. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ. LŚ ApŚ Vait Kauś. The Vait (20 9) reading should be the same as that of its source, Kauś 89 1, but 3 mss of Kauś read *huvāmahī*, and possibly this should be read in both texts

rathūlamau rathīnām ahva (KS °nām *hura*) *ūtaye* TS MS KS : āśūn *hure* (AV *ra*) *suyamān* (AV. °mān *ahva*) *ūtaye* AV. TS MS KS *havante vājasūlaye* RV. *huvema vā°* RV SV MS KS : *huvēya vā°* RV. AV

bṛhaspatim vah prajāpatim vo . . . mśrān vo devān viśvatah pari harāmahe GB Vait . cf. *bṛhaspatim viśvān devān aham huve* RV.

§3. If we contemplate this welter of variations we find, in the first place, that it is not due, as might be antecedently supposed, to adaptation. No variant serves a new purpose, different from that of the parallels. They are, without exception, grammatical or mildly stylistic. And they often betray themselves as being blends of two or more existing expressions, which appear in the texts, notably the RV, elsewhere. Thus, in the item

tam sarasvantam avase huvema (AV *havāmahe*, KS *johavīmī*), the unmetrical KS. reading is due, secondarily of course, to the parallel *pāda*

sarasvantam avase johavīmī RV.

Here *johavīmī* is metrically faultless, and its passage into a wrong place was, perhaps, promoted further by the cadences *avase johavīmī*, RV.

1 34 12, and *avase johavīmī*, RV 3 62 2; 7 38 6.

§4 In no less than five instances of the above list AV. reads, at the end of its *pādas*, *havāmahe* in the place of related expressions in other texts. So favorite a cadence has this become in AV that we find it in four of these five times as a mildly incommensurable *jagati* cadence in

otherwise *triṣṭubh* stanzas: 3. 16 2, 7. 6 2, 7. 40. 1, 16. 1. 13¹ Only in one case, 3. 16 1, does the AV. cadence conform to the rest of the (*jagatī*) stanza. It is quite clear that AV, tho well acquainted with all the other present stems of the root *hū*, has been enticed into this preference for *havāmahe* by the fact that the word occurs extensively at the ends of *pādas*; e.g. *avase havāmahe* RV 2 16 1, 3 26 2, 8 86 4, 8 99.8, 10 66 4, reproduced in two of the four AV instances, 7. 6 2, 7. 40 1. For other numerous instances of *havāmahe* in *jagatī* cadence see *RVRep* 660, under final cadences in *-he*

§5. That the four present stems of *hū*, namely *hava*, *huva*, *hvaya*, and *johavī*, should interchange in the total oral Vedic tradition, needs no comment. It is, probably, supported by set phrases in which the *hū* present is accompanied by some other word. The only surprising thing is that the popular AV has not passed over into the (later regular) stem *hvaya*, but, on the contrary, finds it in its heart to exhibit in two instances other stems for *hvaya* of parallel texts²

huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU *hvayāma*) *śakram purukūlam indram*
RV AV SV VS TS MS KS MahānU.

sarasvatīm sukrto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV. AV KS³

§6 For interchange in this group between moods, tenses, augmented and augmentless forms, and so forth, see the respective rubrics. Barring occasional textual blunders, these and the countless others like them from other roots are one and all outcomes of Vedic tradition as a whole, which in the main does not show the formal, syntactic, and stylistic stability which is customary in literature of a more advanced type. For the most part, as may be seen, rubric by rubric, the variations between text and text are based upon the natural freedom of expression in prayers and songs of praise, and upon the looser syntax which, compared for instance with Greek and Latin, pervades Sanskrit from the Veda to the end of its career. Faults of memory no doubt entered largely into these variations, and so help to account for such instability in the tradition of the Vedic mantras, which was so largely oral

¹ In one internal occurrence, 7 63 1, AV uses *havāmahe* where it can only be called a gross metrical blunder *agnim* (AV *ukthair*, MahānU *ugram*) *huveṃa* (AV *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhashtāt* AV TA MahānU

² See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 21 43, *The Atharvaveda* 50, r 5

³ Here, to be sure, the AV comm reads *ahvayanta* with the rest. The variant quoted by the Conc as *apām napātām aśvinā huve dhīryā* (TS *aśvinā hvayantām*) is a slip, TS reads *hayanta* and this does not concern the root *hū*

Ambiguous grammatical forms: augmented and augmentless preterites

§7 According to a familiar experience of Vedic grammar it is quite often difficult, or even impossible, to determine the precise formal or functional meaning of certain Vedic verbs. This difficulty would, to some extent, seem to be eliminable by means of the variants which are, of course, occasionally in the nature of reciprocal comments. Thus augmentless preterites are not infrequently in interchange with unambiguous modal forms. This makes, or seems at first blush to make, *prima facie* evidence in favor of the modal (injunctive) value of the corresponding augmentless forms, and as a rule we have so classified them. Thus in the class 'Subjunctive and Injunctive', §167 f, the augmentless forms are regarded as modal. Yet they might in perhaps every case be considered preterites, but for that very interchange with subjunctives, as e.g. in

prācnam sīdat (MS *sīdat* *praacśd* *prthivyāh* VS MS KS TB

Nay more. even in spite of that interchange, there is no way of proving that they are not to be considered preterites. For, as we shall show, §§112 ff, indicatives of all sorts, and §§127 ff more particularly preterites, exchange with moods of all sorts on a huge scale for good and proper reasons, so that the alternation of *sīdat* and its apparent interpreter *sīdāt* really proves nothing in itself. The decision in such cases must be left to tactful individual considerations.

§8 We would draw attention here to a few especially vexing cases of this sort, e.g.:

havyā te svadantām (MS *svadan*⁴, KS *asvadan*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB. 'delightful to taste be (were) to thee the oblations.' Here *svadan* may be injunctive to match the modal (imperative) *svadantām*, or it may be preterite indicative to match *asvadan*⁵. *Chi lo sa?* Similarly, in

kāmam (AV. PB *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā viśa* (AV. *viveśa*, KS PB *viśat*) AV KS PB. TB TA AŚ ApŚ, *viśat* is ambiguous, it may be preterite, to match *viveśa*, or injunctive to match *viśa*. Of a different aspect is

āsann ā (SV PB. *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS **tu*) *devāh* RV. SV. VS. TS MS KS PB ŚB

⁴ In one of two occurrences the MS mss and ed read *svadam* (p p likewise), which is probably an error as indicated by the other reading in the same text, tho possibly a transitive 1st person sing.

⁵ And that whether we regard it as augmentless with the mss and p p of MS, or as intended for '*svadan* = *asvadan* of KS, we ignore at this point this purely formal question as to whether an augment is or is not felt as present where Vedic sandhi permits the elision of initial *a*, a question which obviously increases the dubiety of some of the forms we are discussing, see §§264ff

'the gods begot (shall beget) him (Agni) as a vessel at their (our) mouths.' We have classified (§136) *janayanta* as imperfect, because that seems to us the better sense, we are frankly subjective, as we think we must be. In other words, we refuse to attach value in this instance to the implied comment of the single *janayantu* of KS. Yet the Kāthakas, if we may trust their tradition, evidently conceived the passage reasonably enough. Next,

tsro yad agne śaradas tvām ic, chucini ghṛtēna śucayah saparyān (TB. *saparyan*), *nāmāni cid dadhure yaṅūyām* RV. TB, 'when for three autumns (seasons? = one year, Bergaigne 2. 117 n.) the pure (gods?) honored with ghee just thee, O Agni, the pure one, they obtained names (forms) worthy of sacrifice' Here one might classify *saparyan* as injunctive, because of the modal value of *saparyān*. But [the reason for this modal form has never been explained (F. E.), and] a glance at §§264 ff. shows that augmentless imperfects may be regarded just as easily as true imperfects. On the whole, in spite of the implied comment of *saparyān*, we have preferred to construe (§145, d) *saparyan* as imperfect. [This may, indeed, suggest the reason for TB's variation; to the feeling of TB., as to ours, an imperfect indicative was perhaps required F. E.]

§9. Similarly, in

jātaḥ prchad (SV. *prchād*) *vi mātaram* RV. SV.

(cf. *vi prchad itī mātaram* RV.) 'as soon as born he asked his mother', the SV., wholly contrary to our sense of fitness, imposes modal value upon the verb. More perplexing than these is the small list discussed §268 (cf. §145), in which augmented imperfects interchange with corresponding augmentless forms in dependent clauses. The latter may be either imperfects, or injunctives, which occur freely enough in relative clauses, see §§125 and 168. In brief, the evidence of the variants, taken by itself, rarely if at all fixes the syntactical value of augmentless preterites.

Uncertainty as to the moods of certain presents and aorists

§10 In this work, as elsewhere, it is hard to distinguish modal forms of the root-present and the accented *a*-present (aorist present) from the modal forms of the root-aorist and the *a*-aorist. In two related cases, *maro vūrīta* (TS. *vūrīta*, KS. *vareta*) *sakhyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

dymnam (KS. also °ne) *vūrīta puṣyase* (KS. *vareta puṣyatu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

we have followed what may be called the orthodox classification of the

forms *iurīta* (Lat. *colite*) and *varela* as aorists. The decision is grounded on the absence of forms with primary endings by the side of these forms. We are of course not influenced by the present-tense variant *vr̥ṇīta*, which is ambiguous as to mood.⁶ But this criterion is not always valid in our eyes. In §210 a, occur seven cases in which *kṛdhi* (once *kṛṣva*) exchanges with *kṛṇu* and *kuru* (once *kṛnuṣva*). We have taken *kṛdhi* to be aorist imperative, contrary to some authorities (e.g. Grassmann, *Wbch.* 334b), not deterred by sporadic back-formations (from this very *kṛdhi*) into the present: *kṛthas*, *kṛtha* (cf. Whitney, *Roots*, 21). With some hesitation we have also classed as aorists the first of the following pairs: *pālam*, *pībatam* (notwithstanding RV. *pānti*, §210, a); *śrolā*, *śṛnola* (*ibidem*); *manai*, *manle* (§119). Or we have shirked a final decision as to whether the first is a present or an aorist in the following pairs: *yukṣrā*, *yūṅkṣrā* (§192); *madasi*a (probably present), *mandasi*a (*ibidem*). Various cases of ambiguity spring from thematic *a*: is it present sign or subjunctive sign on the body of a non-thematic form? Thus in *karati*, *karoti* (§124, end), cf. *karati*, *kṛnotu* (§154), and *karaḥ*, *kṛnotu* (§104, o), in both of which last cases we classify *kara-* as aorist subjunctive. Doubtful also is *tanate*, varying with both the present *canute* and the aorist *tanāste* (§117), or, again, with *canulām* (§§116, 154, 191).

§11. In the perfectly clear expression

sa trāit̥bhyah pari dadat (TA. *dadāt*) *pitr̥bhyah* RV. AV. TA. N.

he shall hand thee over to these manes', both forms, though grammatically ambiguous, are treated as respectively subjunctive and injunctive (see §167). They might also be regarded as imperfect indicatives, thematic and non-thematic; see §193 where occur what may be felt as the same forms, since the circumstances make it impossible to say whether the augment was felt with them or not.

§12. In all these and similar cases we have often classified on what may be called the line of least resistance, on the basis of common sense and average Vedic habit; and we have not, in all cases, thought it necessary to suggest the obvious alternative. Cf. on this theme Neisser, *BB.* 7. 211 ff.

Imperatives (?) or Subjunctives in se

§13. Of exceptional interest are the two forms *stuṣe* and *kṛṣe* interchanging with *stuhī* and *kṛdhi*, listed §165. We have inclined to regard

⁶ Perhaps best considered optative in view of the parallels, tho in itself it might equally well be injunctive or imperative.

them as 2d person singular middle imperatives, or perhaps better subjunctives, corresponding to the well-established class of active modal forms in *s*

Phonetic variants: interchange between t and th in 2d plurals

§14 A number of phonetic variations are so constant as to raise the question whether the resulting formal differences are not in part mere oral blunders, especially in cases where one of the verb-forms is questionable on some other ground. The most important of these is the interchange between *t* and *th*, part of the broad chapter of interchanges between unaspirated and aspirated stops, which will appear as an important part of our volume on Phonetics. Thus the 2d plural endings *ta* and *tha* interchange freely, there being rarely any connexion in which either of them, notwithstanding their modal difference, is impossible or even difficult, of the other interchanges between indicative and imperative, §116. The chronology of the texts generally decides in favor of one or the other.

tam sma jānāta (VSK °*tha*) *parame vyoman* AV VS VSK TS KS ŚB. MS. Here *jānātha*, tho perfectly sound grammar, is a secondary blend of *jānāta* and (subj.) *jānātha* in the kindred formula *elam jānātha* (KS *jānāta*; TB *jānātāi*) *pa° vy°* VS KS ŚB. TB., cf. *jānāta smairnam* (TS MS *jānātād enam*) *pa° vy°* AV. TS MS.

§15 In the next, *kṛtha* is a dubious root present, really a back-formation from aorists such as *kṛdhi*. Yet it is certainly the original reading. *yad āmayati mṣ kṛtha* (TS MS KS *kṛta*) RV. VS TS MS KS.

§16 In the following group, primary *tha*, with indicative sense, is secondary and more or less inferior to the ending *ta* with injunctive or imperative sense:

devebhyo bhavata (TB °*tha*) *suprāyanāh* RV AV. VS MS KS TB N
śvā no bhavata (ApŚ °*tha*) *jīvase* MS ApŚ
śuddhāh pūtā bhavata (TA °*tha*, MG. °*ntu*) *yajñayāsah* RV. TA MG
tena kṛdantīś (ŚG *kṛī^p*) *carata* (ŚG °*tha*) *priyena* (AV *vaśān anu*) AV
 TS ŚG PG VIdh
aśvā bhavata (AV. TS KS °*tha*) *vājinaḥ* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
devā bhavata vā° RV.

datto asmabhyam (etc., see §250, p. 165) *dravineha bhadram* AV KS
 AŚ SMB. *dadhatā no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS

§17 Wholly anomalous, not to say impossible, are the traditionally recorded *tha* forms in the next two:

ye 'tra pīarah . bhūyāstha AV ŚŚ : ya etasmīn loke
 bhūyāsta TS TB Of course a precative formation cannot, according to decent grammar, have a primary ending, yet apparently all mss of both AV. and ŚŚ agree on -tha, see Whitney on AV. 18 4 86

arālāg udabhartsata (AV mss. °tha) AV ŚŚ The AV mss at 20 139 1 read thus; in an augmented form tha is a monstrosity Roth's violent emendation, āsannā udabhīr yathā, has of course no standing.

§18 On the other hand the forms in tha claim precedence in the following

payasvatīh kṛnuthāpa (TS °lāpa) oṣadhīh śivāh (TS om. śi°) AV. TS ud īrayathā (MS MŚ °lā, AV KS. °ta) marutah samudālah RV. AV TS MS KS. AŚ MŚ

yūyam (MS dīvo) vṛṣtam varṣayathā (MS °lā) purīṣinah RV TS MS. KS

§19 Doubtful as to precedence are
 aulaba (HG °va) it tam upā hvayatha (HG. °ta) ApMB. HG.
 saputrakāyām jāgratha PG. yaṣamānāya jāgrta ApŚ Cf Stenzler's note to translation of PG 1. 16 22

Phonetic variants: interchange between t and th in 2d and 3d duals

§20 About equally often the 2d and 3d dual forms interchange so as to involve t and th, these cases will be classified in greater detail in the section on Person, below The decision as to priority depends on attendant circumstances, notably the relative chronology of the texts.

hato (SV TB halho) vṛtrāny ūryā (AV. TB apratī) RV AV SV TB Followed in RV SV by the next two

hato (SV halho) dāsām salpatī, and hato (SV halho) viśvā apa dviṣah RV SV An entire stanza is changed here from 3d person reference to direct address, see below, §§329, 332 —As in this case, the t forms are prior in

śam (ApMB śam) ūdho romaśam hatah (ApMB halhah) RV. ApMB

The form halhah is absurd, though apparently very old in the Ap tradition, see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, p xx
 purā gṛdhrād araruṣah pibālah (TB °thah) RV MS TB

§21 But in the next two the th form is evidently prior, while in most of the rest here listed there is little clear evidence supporting either one
 citrebhīr abhrār upa tīṣthatho (MS °to) ravam RV † MS Followed by
 dyām varṣayatho (MS °to) asurasya māyayā RV MS The p p of MS has °thah See §337

ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī prornuvāthām (VSK. TS ApŚ *prornuvāthām*, MS MS † *prornuvālām*) VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ MS, cf. *vapayā* etc Kauś, and see Conc under *svarge* (°*gena*, *suvarge*) *loke(-na)* *prornuvāthām* etc (only MS. °*lām*; VS. VSK TS KSA † [which reads *samprornuvāthām*] ŚB TB Vait °*thām*)

yā (AV TS. *yāv*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS † °*ihō*, AV. *viśalho*) *yau ca rakṣatah* (AV. KS † °*ihah*) AV. TS MS. KS

yau viśvasya paribhū (KS *viśvasyādhipā*) *babhūvathuh* (TS † °*uh*) KS. TS

yā rājānā (TS. °*nam*) *saratham yātha* (MS *yāta*) *ugrā* TS MS KS *lat satyam yad vīram bibhṛtāh* (MS † °*tah*); and, in same passage.

vīram janayisyathāh (MS °*tah*); and:

te mat prālah prajanayisyethe (MS °*te*), *te mā prajāte prajanayisyathāh* (MS °*tah*) TB ApŚ. MS

yajñasya yuktāu dhuryā (TB. ApŚ °*yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS °*thām*) MS. KS. † TB. ApŚ. And, in same stanza.

divi (KS *divē*) *gyotir ajaram* (MS KS. *ullamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS KS. † °*thām*), same texts *abhūtām* is anomalous, see §§56, 337.

kāmam duhālām iha śakvarībhih AV : *rāṣṭram duhālthām iha revatībhih* TB Here, tho the context in AV. requires a 3d person verb, most mss read °*thām* like TB (but Ppp °*lām*).

§22 For lack of a better place we append here another curious variant between *t* and *th* in verbal endings, which concerns neither duals nor 2d plurals

abhīramyatām (MS 8 20 °*thām*!) MS ŚG YDh BṛhPDh. So according to Conc the mss of MS as recorded by Knauer, since it occurs in the unpublished part of MS it is impossible to verify it, but it is presumably a mistake in copying by either an Indian scribe or a western scholar. The form *abhīramyatām* is, of course, 3dsingular passive imperative

Phonetic variants interchange between a and u before v*

§23 From out of the confusion of shifting vowel tradition in the variants, to be treated in our volume on Phonetics, one phase tends to unsettle the exact meaning of a certain group of verb changes. Namely, in quite a number of cases *u* interchanges with *a* before *v*, so that the resulting forms may be judged to be either phonetic or morphological, in all probability a mixture of both. Thus, in

abhi pra nonuvur (SV *nonavur*) *gīrah* RV SV.

nonuvur is intensive perfect (Whitney, Gr. § 1018a), while *nonavur* is in-

tensive augmentless imperfect (*ibid* §1015) The SV reading is surely secondary, and phonetic at least in part, rather than truly morphological. Considerations of this sort are in order in the following list, in which the frequent interchange between stems *bhāva-* and *bhuwa-* strikes the eye, note particularly the persistent choice of *bhuwa-* on the part of SV in the first six examples (cf. contrariwise SV *nonavur* above) The Black YV texts also show a preference for *u* as against *a*, as we shall show in the Phonetics volume.

samṁślo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuwah*) *dhenubhuh* RV SV.

uta trātā śvo bhavā (SV *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV SV VS TS MS KS
Kauś

tatra pūṣābhavat (SV. *°bhuwat*) *sacā* RV SV KS

nemiś cakram wābhavat (SV. MS *°bhuwat*) RV SV TS MS

yat some-soma ābhavah (SV *ābhuwah*) RV SV

yad dūre sann ihābhavah (SV *°bhuwah*) RV SV MŚ N

sampryah (TA *°yam prajayā*) *pakubhuh bhava* (TB TA *bhuwat*) MS
TB TA ApŚ

asapatnā (RV **°nah*) *klābhuvam* (ApMB *°bhavam*) RV. (bis) ApMB

yatra (SV *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV *bruvan*) RV SV

tasmai devā adhi bruvan (VS TS *bravan*) VS TS MŚ KS TB ApŚ

tasmai somo adhi bravat (KS *bruvat*) RV AV. KS

pra bravāma (MS *bruvāma*, v l *bra°*) *śaradah śalam* VS MS TA. ApMB
HG MG

tad aham mhnave (ŚŚ *mhnuve*) *tubhyam* AB ŚŚ

upa śrvat (MS *śruvat*, p p *śrvat*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV MS

An interchange like *tam ahve* (SV *u huve* = *u hve*) *vājasātaye* RV SV, may be suspected of being a similar phonetic variant across the faint pronunciation of *h*

Phonetic variants: loss of t (d) as first of a group of three consonants

§24 In a small group attention is arrested by the interchange between *āt* (*ād*) and *ā* before two consonants, in connexion with which the *t* (*d*) makes three consonants. There are three such cases each before *d* and before *s*

agnir dād (TS *dā*) *dravnam virapeśah* RV TS P p of TS *dah*, this form occurs several times in the context, and no doubt fitted thru the mind of the compiler. But a 2d person form is most bizarre, since a nominative subject (*agnir*) immediately precedes, despite Keith's attempt to explain it (TS 162, n 4), we believe the variant is essentially phonetic. Cf the next

yad ūrdhvas tṣṭhā (KS. *tṣṭhād*) *draviṇcha dhattāl* RV MS KS. AB TB.

N. P. p. of RV. *tṣṭhāh*: 'bestow upon us wealth here when thou standest erect.' All texts have as next *pāda*, *yad vā lṣaṇo mātūr asyā upasthe*, showing up the extreme reprehensibility of the KS reading. Cf. prec., of which this is the reverse

āprā (AV *āprād*) *dyāvūpṛthwī antarikṣam* RV. AV ArS. VS TS. MS. KS ŚB TB. AA. TA.

Here both forms are 3d person; AV has the later form *āprād* for *āprās*. *tān ādityān anu madā* (MS *madāt*) *svastaye* RV. MS P. p. of MS *mada*; *madāt* may be a mere corruption, see §315.

bodhā stotre (MS. *bodhāt stomair*) *vayo dadhat* (ApS *vayovṛdhah*) RV. SV. MS ApS. In MS part of a different stanza; but a v. 1 *bodhā* is recorded.

adharo mad aṣau vadāt svāhā ApMB : *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG. (corrupt; see §153); cf. *adho vadādharo vada* HG.

Phonetic variants; presence or absence of visarga at the end of words, mostly at the end of pādas

§25. In a number of cases verbal variations depend entirely or in part upon the presence or absence of *visarga* (*h*), especially at the end of a *pāda*. As the sound was pronounced faintly (not, as in modern Hindu pronunciation, as *h* followed by a vowel), it is quite possible that some of these interchanges are purely phonetic, it would doubtless be going too far to say that they all are. Thus (§158, end) TS 3 5 10 1 has the anomalous *yodhi* for *yodhih* of other texts at the end of a stanza (Whitney, Gr. §839), if this is the only occurrence of *yodhi*, we might cancel it from our grammars and lexicons. Cf. Keith's note, HOS 28 286, n 1. The total of such correspondences is not small, those which concern verb forms are supported by others, cf. *pibāt somam mamadad* (AŚ ŚŚ *somam amadann*) *enam iṣte* (AŚ ŚŚ *iṣṭayah*), AV. AŚ ŚŚ, §137, where it occurs in noun forms.

pra-pra yaṣṇapatim tira (TA *tirah*, but Poona ed *tira*) AV VS TS MS.

KS TA AŚ. ŚŚ ApS. See §156 for this and the next three.

sūryasya tapas tapa (MS MŚ *tapah*) MS TA ApS MŚ

ni dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ *vahah*) AV ŚŚ

viśvasmāt (TA *divo vi*) *śim aghāyata uruṣya* (TA *uruṣyah*) RV. TA

tāv imā upa sarpatah SV. JB. *emām anu sarpata* MS. See §116

agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yaṣāma (TB *°mah*) RV TB. See §124, where also, but in the interior of the passage, *dhvarāma*: *dhūrvāmas*, in the item *tam dhūrva* etc.

anyavratasya (TA *anyad vra*°) *saścima* (TA °mah, RV *saścire*) RV VS MS ŚB TA (corrupt.) For this and the next four items see §262, c

prati bhāgam na dādhima (SV °mah) RV AV SV VS N

viratāh smah (ŚG *sma bhoh*) ŚG PG.

abhiratāh smah (YDh *sma ha*) ViDh YDh BṛhPDh

tasmīn vayam upahūtās tava smah (MŚ *sma*) TB MŚ

tau saha (VS ŚB. *tā ubhau*) *caturah padah sam prasārayāvahai* (VS ŚB. °yāva, MS °yāvah) VS TS. MS KSA ŚB ApŚ

viśvāh pinvathah (TB. °tha) *svasarasya dhenāh* RV MS TB (comm. Bibl Ind ed. °thah, but Poona ed °tha). Vacillation of sandhi before s + cons., one ms. of MS °tha

Phonetic variants interchange between e and ai

§26 Especially at the end of pādas, but also elsewhere, *e* and *ai* frequently interchange This, as regards the verb, concerns for the most part interchange between the (indicative or subjunctive) endings *mahe*, *vahe*, and the subjunctive *mahai*, *vahai*; see §§118, 124, 253 To illustrate the same phonetic change outside of the verb, we may quote one of many changes between the pronouns *asme* and *asmai*

supippalā oṣadhīh kartanāsme (AV *kartam asmai*; VSK *kartam asme*) AV. VS VSK MS

In the item *brahmāham antaram kṛnve* (KŚ *karave*) AV KŚ, the Cone suggests the more proper *karavai* for KŚ.

vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ. °mahai, MŚ *visṛjāvahai*) AŚ. ŚŚ Vait ApŚ. MŚ PG.

yam jīvam aśnavāmahai (MS °he) RV AV VS TS MS KS

devān yajñīyān iha yān yajāmahai (TS *havāmahe*) TS MS KS

rayīm yena vanāmahai (SV °he) RV SV

kva tyāni nau sakhyā babbhūvuh, sacāvahe (MS °hai, p p °he) *yad avṛkam purā cū* RV MS

The same interchange occurs between *te* and *tai* as subjunctive endings; all the cases which occur are grouped in §253

Phonetic interchanges concerning y in combination with other consonants

§27 For this theme as a whole see Bloomfield, *SBE* 42 418 ff, and the appropriate section of our volume on Phonetics The Concordance presents the item

bhakṣa āgatah TS. *bhakṣah pīlah* VSK *bhakṣo bhakṣyamānah* (KS. *bhakṣa*°) VS KS So the single ms of KS (at that time unedited)

reads, but the now printed text quite properly emends to *bhakṣya-mānāh*, matching VS. Similarly,

(*net tvā*) *dadhr̥g vidhakṣyan paryañkhayāte* (AV. *vidhakṣan parīñkhayātai*) RV. AV.: *net tvā dadhad vidhakṣyan paryañkhayātai* TS 'Lest the bold one embrace thee (shake thee about) intending to burn thee', or the like. Many mss. of AV. read *vidhakṣyan*, which should be adopted Cf. Whitney on AV 18. 2 58.

vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhṛtata menāyakṣase (TA °*yakṣyase*; ŚŚ. °*yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ. The aorist *yakṣase* may = the future *yakṣyase*; and *yachase* is certainly a phonetic corruption for *yakṣ(y)ase*

On the other hand, the fuller *kṣy* is secondary in the following:

ā te yatante rathyo yathā prthak, śardhānsy agne ajarān (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. *dhakṣatah* is aorist participle, gen sing, *dhakṣyase*, 'thou shalt be kindled', connected asyndetically with *yatante*, is obviously secondary In fact, Caland on ApŚ 3 15. 5 takes it as a mere corruption of the other reading

§28 Similarly the group *ścy* is reduced, secondarily.

ā vr̥ṣcyañtām (AV. *vr̥ṣcantām*) *aditaye durevāh* RV. AV. See §87.

In one instance *śy* is secondarily reduced to *ṣ*·

ratho na vājam sanuṣyann (SV *sanuṣann*) *ayāsīl* RV. SV. 'He hath come like a chariot about to win (that hath won) booty.' *sanuṣyan* is a common form, *sanuṣan* an aorist participle made for the occasion.

Cf. Oldenberg, *Prolegomena* 281, and our §234, c.

In a remarkably persistent way the mss read *arātsyam*, improper conditional, for *arātsam*, proper prophetic aorist, in the set formula·

tenārātsyam (ŚŚ MŚ GG. v. 1 °*rātsam*) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ GG', cf. *tan me 'rādhi* (Kauś *rāddham*) VS. TS. TA Kauś.

CHAPTER II THE VOICES

INTERCHANGE BETWEEN ACTIVE AND MIDDLE AND PASSIVE

§29. The number of these interchanges is large. They naturally fall into four rubrics. First, a not very large group of interchanges between active and middle, in which the middle has middle or passive value, and the active has transitive value, so that the two are definitely distinguished.

Second, a very much larger group, involving many roots of the language, in which the interchange between active and middle is without clearly perceptible difference, this is a part of the break-down of the distinction between the two voices which is noticeable from the earliest times. Our variants are grouped in two subdivisions, according as we find the interchange two or more times from a single root, or only once.

Third, interchange between active and passive constructions, as part of a growing movement towards passive forms of expression, which becomes far more pronounced in later Sanskrit.

Fourth, interchanges between middle and passive, a small group in which the middle has passive meaning and is therefore equivalent to the passive form.

1 Transfusions between active and middle psychology, or interchanges between active and middle in their true and original meanings

§30. The primary distinction between active and middle as vehicles of transitive and reflexive (or more broadly, sphere-of-the-subject) function, well named by the Hindu grammarians *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*, comes to the fore in not a few passages which alternate active and middle forms with more or less material and clear change of meaning, and, we may add, by no means always so that the active passage may be transfused directly into the middle passage. These cases are parallel or analogous to the similar list of variant active and passive constructions, treated below. They are, moreover, flanked by a few others which offer occasion for a quasi-variant use of active and middle, tho they are not true variants of one another, but merely passages derived from similar spheres of conception in which active and

middle each are properly differentiated in accordance with the total sense of the passage.

apriyaḥ prati muñcatām AV. 'let the enemy fasten on himself', *apriye prati muñca tat* (Kauś.† *muñcatam*) AV. Kauś 'fasten thou (ye two) that on the enemy.'

niṣkari va prati muñcata (and, °*tām*) AV. (both). In different verses: 'fasten ye on (others) like a necklace', or, 'let him fasten on himself' etc.

ya imi rahanta āsubhih RV. 'who travel (transport themselves) with swift horses': *yadī rahanty āśatah* SV. 'if swift horses transport (him).' Cf. §67, where the two voices of *rah* are found without difference of meaning

yad ro 'śuddhāh (VSK. °*ah*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK. *jaghānaitad*) *idam vas tac chundhām* VS VSK ŚB 'whatever of yours the impure have (has) polluted, that do I here cleanse for you', *yad aśuddhah parājaghāna tad ta etena śundhantām* KS 'whatsoever the impure has polluted, as to that for you thru this let them purify themselves (become pure)', or, perhaps, 'let them (indefinite) purify that for you thru this'; cf. below, §71, to which the KS version belongs if *śundhantām* has active meaning: *yad ro 'śuddha ālebhe tañ śundhadhvam* MS 'what of yours an impure one has handled, do ye purify that for yourselves (or, do ye become pure as to that).'

yat te krūrām...tat te śudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena śundhatām*; MS. *tad etena śundhasa*) VS TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. See prec, and cf. §§71, 82, 338 end.

sa viśvā prati cākṛpe AV. 'he hath shaped himself into all things'; *sa viśvam prati cākṛpat* AŚ. ŚŚ. 'he hath shaped (or, shall shape) the universe.'

ito mukṣīya māmūtah (ApŚ *mā pateh*) VS. ŚB ApŚ. *preto muñcāmi* (AG. ŚG. SMB. MG. *muñcātu*, PG.† *muñcatu*, ApMB. *muñcāti*) *nāmūtah* (ŚG. MG. SMB.† *māmūtah*, PG. *mā pateh*) RV. AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB MG.: cf. *mṛtyor mukṣīya māmṛtāt* (MŚ. *mā patyuh*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB. TB. TAA. Vait. LŚ MŚ. N. See §§104a, 312

The liturgical series, *vācam* (etc) *te śundhāmi*, VS 6. 14, 'I purify thy voice' etc., is paralleled by a corresponding list showing true reflexive value, *mukham śundhasa* etc Kauś 44. 19, 'purify thy mouth' etc.

āpo deriḥ śundhata mā...devayajyāyaz MS. *dauvyāya karmāne śundhadhvam devayajyāyaz* VS ŚB : *śundhadhvam dauvyāya karmāne* (TS TB. add *devayajyāyaz*) TS. MS. TB ApŚ

yad ahnāt (also, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA *yad ahnā* (and, *rātrya*)
pāpam akārṣam TA MahānU 'What evil is done (I have done)
 by day (night)' *kurute* has passive force

agne dakṣaḥ punīhi nah (TB *mā*, MS *punīmahe*) RV. MS TB 'Purify
 us', '(may) we become pure' And similarly

brahma tena punīhi nah (LŚ. *mā*, VS KS *punātu mā*, MS TB *punī-
 mahe*) RV VS KS MS. TB LŚ *idam brahma punīmahe* TB

evam tam (ApMB *tvam*) *garbham ā dhehi* (ApMB. *dhatsva*) RVKh
 ApMB MG. 'Thus set thou the embryo (in her)'. 'thus set thou
 (addressing the woman) the embryo in thyself (receive the embryo)'
 See §302

madhu kariṣyāmi madhu janayiṣyāmi JB.: *madhu janīṣye* (AV.
°ṣīya) AV TS. TA ŚŚ 'I shall produce honey (for myself)'

ud dharṣantāni maghavan vājīnāni AV. *ud dharṣaya maghavann* (AV.
satvanām) *āyudhāni* RV AV SV VS. TS 'Let strengths be
 aroused, O generous one' or, 'arouse the weapons, O generous
 one (or, the weapons of the warriors)'

trīṣṭhe nāke adhi vi śrayasva (and, *śrayanam*) AV. (both) 'Spread thou
 (him) out upon the third heaven'

samnahye (KS *°hya*, 2d sing act) *sukṛtāya kam* TS KS TB ApŚ MŚ
 ApMB *saminahyasvāmṛtāya kam* AV. Only KS has a transitive
 verb, 'gird on' (the things mentioned in the preceding *pādas*)
 For the others ('I gird myself', 'gird thyself'), see §308 end

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ The subject in
 ŚB is a king, the active form goes with the causative. 'he caused
 a sacrificial horse to be bound', i.e. caused the *aśvamedha* to be
 performed In ŚŚ the subject is the priests: 'they bound a
 sacrificial horse'

§31. We group separately such interchanges of voice in *Participles*,
 since they constitute, to some extent certainly, a special problem.
 Renou has shown (*Valeur du parfait* 121-38) that voice in the participles
 frequently seems not to run parallel to that in finite forms

parāśutpāh śośucatah śṛñhi AV 'destroy the fiercely burning (demons)
 that delight in (taking) life', *parāśutpā abhi śośucānah* (sc *śṛñhi*)
 RV 'destroy (the demons) that delight in (taking) life, burning
 fiercely against them' Cf Renou 128

vśvasmād īṣatah (MS *īṣamānah*) *paridhīh* TS MS KS 'the fence
 from every attacker', the MS reading (somewhat uncertain, see
 editor's note, 1. 1. 12: 7. 10) seems to mean 'fleeing from every
 attack'

ajānānah (SV *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arlath* RV. SV. In RV. *ajānānah* is absolute, 'when born'; in SV *janayan* lamely governs *sūryam*. The interchange is of the loosest kind

§32. In one case active and middle are used in precisely the reverse of the function to be expected

tasmar tvam stana pra pyāya ApMB 'do thou, O breast, swell for him';
tasmar stanam pra pyāyasva HG. 'do thou swell out thy breast for him' [But the middle seems justified, as referring to 'thy' breast—G M.B., approved by F. E.]

§33. There are also, as noted above, a few formulas, related in context, but not strictly variants of one another, which contrast the two voices according to the same standards, the middle being reflexive or at least intransitive, the active being transitive

divo mātrayā varinā (VS ŚB *varimnā*) *prathasva* VS TS MS KS ŚB.:
rṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varinā (VS *varimnā*)
prathantu VS. MS KS 'with the measure of heaven extend thyself in breadth', 'the sages of yore shall extend thee in breadth.'
ḍṛṇha prthivīm PB, and *prthivīm ḍṛṇha* VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB JB MG.
 'make firm the earth' *ḍṛṇhasva prthivyām* VS KS ŚB. 'be firm upon earth'

iṣe pinvasva, ūrje pinvasva VS ŚB.: *iṣam pinva, ūrjam pinva* MG
vācam me tvayi dadhān, (response,) *vācam te mayi dadhe* KBU. And the same with many other nouns besides *vāc*, in a long litany. The father says. 'Let me place my speech (etc.) in thee' The son replies 'I take thy speech (etc.) in myself'

2. Interchange between active and middle in the same verb as part of the break-down of this distinction from earliest times

§34. In the preceding cases the varying use of the voices depends, as a rule, on change of construction, or some imaginable difference of attitude towards the same passage. But the bulk of the interchanges between active and middle of the same root are in passages of identical construction, devoid of any appreciable difference, if there is a difference in meaning between the voices, it is certainly of the most tenuous kind, and while we would not rigorously deny such possibilities here and there, there seems no doubt that by and large they are signs of the almost complete practical erasure of this distinction towards which the language tends from the very beginning, from the RV on¹

¹ Renou, *passim*, shows that a verbal system is frequently made up with one tense of one voice and another tense of another, there being no difference of

§35. In his admirable *Wörterbuch*, Grassmann says (column 1070) under *yaj*, 'Das Medium fügt überall die bekannte reflexive Bedeutung hinzu' BR s.v. cite the scholast to Pān 1 3 72, Vop. 23 58 to the effect that the active of *yaj* is used of the priest, the middle of the sacrificing householder (*yajanti yājāh, yajamāno yajate*) However, both BR and Delbrück³ recognize that this distinction is not absolute. The *yaj* variants, below, show at any rate that it is not adhered to very closely in Vedic tradition. The twin of *yajati*, namely *juhoti*, which might be expected to be on all fours with *yajati*, shows scarcely, if ever, any such distinction, being generally active. This may be due to the fact that *juhoti* is conceived as the function of the *hotar*. The root *hū* 'call', produces only middle forms in the RV. when the present stem is *hava-*, whereas the other stems show both actives and middles. This is not the place to go into an elaborate investigation of the reason why *hava-* has no actives, the variants, at any rate, show in almost every instance active forms of the other stems interchanging with middle forms of *hava-*. In general, our variants are loofly on the other side of right and wrong; the total of this evanescent distinction has broken down, almost every root showing actives in interchange with middles.

§36. Occasionally attendant circumstances show which of the two voices is prior in a given variant. In one case AV gives us two forms of what is essentially the same pāda: *viṣe viṣam aprkthāh* 7. 88 1, . *aprāg api* 10. 4 26b. 'in poison thou hast (he has) mixed poison'. Here, in the first place, metrical considerations come in; 7 88 1 is prose, and the formula is made metrical in 10. 4 26 by the addition of the 'patch-word' *api*. Aside from the question of meter, when a longer form of one voice is replaced by a shorter one of the other voice, which is then padded out by a patch-word, usually a pronoun or adverb, this latter form of the pāda invariably impresses one as secondary. Other cases are

meaning represented in the voice distinction. Even in essentially the same pāda, active and middle may be equivalent as early as RV *ajasrena śociṣā śoṣucac chuce* 6 48 3, *ajasreṇa śociṣā śoṣucānah* 7 5 4. The needs respectively of *yajati* and *iristubh* are deferred to, see *RVRep* 294, 531. Cf Renou 121ff (participles and voice).

¹ *ASintax* 248, so also Renou 106, 110. Delbrück 241, observes that *ci* 'pile' (bricks of the altar) exhibits regularly the same distinction, the middle being used of the sacrificer, the active of the priest.

² [In a charm against poison, especially that of snakes, there may be in the middle a suggestion of 'for thyself', the poison being magically directed back against its emitter. F.E.]

syonam patye (AV. *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛnuṣva* (AV. *kṛnu tvam*) RV AV.
SMB. ApMB MG N

marutām pītas tad aham gṛnāmi (MS *gṛne te*) TS MS : *marutām pītar
ula tad gṛnīmah* KS

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hi*) TS MŚ

nī no rayīm subhojasam yuvasva (TS *yuveha*) RV, VS TS MS KS

sa no mayobhūh pīto āviśasva (ŚG PG SMB. [Jorgensen] *pītav āviśasva*,
AŚ *pītav āviśeha*) TS TB AŚ ŚG SMB PG See §69.

huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU *hvaṣāmi*) *śakram puruhūtam indram*
RV AV SV VS TS MS KS MahānU

tam manyeta (ViDh *var manyet*) *pītaram mātaram ca* SamhitopanisadB
VāDh ViDh

Aside from such cases there are occasionally other indications as to priority which have been noted whenever they seemed sufficiently certain and not too obvious

§37. We have arranged the interchanges between active and middle in two lists. In the first a given root interchanges twice or oftener; in the second only once. We have wished in this way to separate the verbs that are more habitually free in their choice of voice from those in which the interchange may be suspected of being either accidental or solecistic. Delbruck, *AltSyntax* 228ff, has collected considerable material for the use of the voices in Brāhmana prose. We have added in parentheses (D) the pages on which he comments on a large number of our roots

§38. The following is an alphabetic list of all the roots which so interchange; those which are not treated by Delbrück—a rather large number—are distinguished by italics. The two denominatives *rājaya* ‘demean oneself as king’, and *sukratūya* ‘have superior wisdom’, are not listed.

as ‘obtain’
arṣ ‘move’
as ‘throw’
ās ‘sit’
i+adhī ‘read’
i+palā ‘flee’
īr ‘arouse’
edh ‘prosper’
kar ‘make’
kar ‘praise’

kalp (caus) ‘shape’
gam ‘go’
gar ‘praise’
gup ‘protect’
gai ‘sing’
grabh ‘seize’
ghuṣ ‘sound’
cat (caus) ‘drive off’
ci ‘observe’
jan ‘beget’

jī 'conquer'	lubh 'desire'
juṣ 'enjoy'	vakṣ 'grow'
tan 'extend'	vac 'speak'
tar 'cross'	vad 'speak'
dah 'burn'	vadh 'slay'
dā 'give'	van 'win'
dī 'shine'	vap 'throw'
dī 'fly'	vārāya 'ward off'
dīkṣ 'consecrate'	vart 'turn'
dyut 'shine'	vardh 'grow'
dharṣ + ā 'dare'	vah 'carry'
dhā 'set'	valh 'ask a riddle'
dhārāya 'hold'	vid 'obtain' and 'perceive'
nam 'bend'	viś 'enter'
naś 'perish'	vyā 'envelop'
naś 'obtain'	śikṣ 'help'
ni 'lead'	śri 'set up'
nud 'expel'	śudh 'purify'
pac 'cook'	sac 'follow'
parc 'mix'	sad 'sit'
pū 'purify'	san 'be effective'
bandh 'bind'	sar (caus) 'move'
bhaj 'share'	sarj 'loosen'
bhar 'bear'	śah 'be able'
bhū 'be'	sev + m 'be devoted to'
bhrāj 'shine'	stan 'thunder'
majj 'dive'	stu 'praise'
mad 'revel'	sthā 'stand'
man 'think'	sthāpaya 'place'
muc 'release'	snāpaya 'cause to bathe'
yaj 'revere'	svad 'taste'
yam 'hold'	svap 'sleep'
yu 'unite' and 'separate'	han 'slay'
rakṣ 'protect'	hā 'leave'
ram 'rest'	hī 'incite'
ram, rā 'give'	hū 'sacrifice'
ruh 'grow'	hū 'call'
rej 'tremble'	

Interchanges between active and middle which occur twice or oftener

§39. *aś* 'obtain' (D. 229)

viśvam āyur vy aśnavat (AV °*vam*) AV VS. MS. KS TB. The AV mss (19 55 6) read *aśnavat*, which Whitney (Transl.) emends to *aśnavan*. Cf. the parallels with active, *viśvam āyur vy aśnulah* and *aśnuvat*, and on the other hand with middle, *dirgham āyur.* and *sarvam āyur* in Conc. See §140

viśvam id dhītam (MS *dhītam*) *ānaśuh* (SV. *āśata*) RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ

yena śravānsy ānaśuh (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.

vy aśema (SV VS *aśemahi*) *devahūtam yad āyuh* RV SV VS VSK MS KS TA ApŚ NrpU. NruU MG The active is usual with prepositions, and *vy aśema* obviously prior to °*mahi*; Delbrück, l c. Oldenberg, *Prolegomena* 278

tenāmṛtatvam aśyām (KS PB *aśīya*) KS PB. TB. TA. ApŚ · so 'mṛtatvam aśīya' (VSK *aśyāt*) VS. VSK. MS ŚB. ŚŚ.: *taṣāmṛtatvam* (and, *tair amṛ*°) *aśīya* PB

talo mā dravinam aštu (AB *āṣṭa*) VS. AB. ŚB ŚŚ. See §130.

§40. *ir* 'arouse'

vācaspatē 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā divi devāvṛdham (ŚŚ. erroneously *devā vṛdhan*) *hotrām arayat* (KŚ *arayanī*, TA. *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *arayacva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ om) ŚB TA. ŚŚ. KŚ See §248, end.

svayā tanvā tanvam arayat AV.. *svām yat tanūm tanvām arayata* MS. AA AŚ ŚŚ *svā yat tanū tanvam arayata* KS. KSA.. *svāyām yat tanvām* (TS *tanuvām*) *tanūm arayata* TS. KŚ. But *arayata* is the reading of most mss also in AV. 7. 3. 1; see Whitney.

aghāyūnām ud īrate (AŚ °*ū*) AV PB AŚ We put little faith in the Bibl Ind edition of AŚ

tām nah pūṣaṇī chivatamām erayasva HG.: *tām pūṣaṇī* (AV. °*an*) *chivatamām erayasva* RV. AV. ApMB : *sā nah pūṣā śivatamām eraya* PG.

§41. *kar* 'make' (D. 238)

ugram cellāram adhīrājam akran (AV. *akrata*) RV. AV. VS TS KS. *akrata* collides with the *triṣṭubh* meter of the stanza as a whole, and Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 37. 264) reads *akran*

dyumantam ghoṣam vijayāya kṛnmahe (AV. *kṛnmasi*) RV. AV.

agnau kariṣye karavai karavāni (with reply: *kṛīyatām kuruṣva kuru*) AG *agnau karanam kariṣyāmi* MŚ *agnau kariṣyāmi* GG BDh · *agnau karavāni* ViDh Cf Stenzler's note on AG 4 7 18, Transl.

syonam patye (AV *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛnuṣva* (AV *kṛnu tvam*) RV. AV SMB ApMB MG N Besides the patch-word (cf §36),

AV is marked as secondary by dissyllabic *syonam* (the others, archaically, *sionam*)

kuru AG GG V₁Dh *kuruṣva* AG YDh AuśDh BrhPDh

kuruta MS MŚ LŚ ŚG Kauś GG KhG PG HG *om kuruta* ŚŚ AG MG *kurudhvam* PG.

kṛṣm *śuśasyām* *ut kṛṣe* (KS *kṛdh*) MS KS MŚ See §165

yajñapalaye vasu vāryam āsamskarase ŚŚ *yajñapalaye vāryam ā svas* kah MS *yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar asma* TA.

Participles (cf §31)

punah kṛnvānā (KS *kṛnvantā*) *pīlarā yuvānā* VS KS ŚB *punah kṛnvantah pīlaro yuvānah* MS. *punah kṛnvans tvā pīlaram yuvānam* TS

§41a *gam* 'go'

juṣte juṣṭm *te gameyam* (ŚŚ °ya, TS 'śiya) TS KS ŚŚ LŚ

nāpa vrñjāle na gamāto antam AV *nāvaprjyāle na gamāte antam* TB

§42. *gup* 'protect'

taḍ gopāyata (KŚ °yadhvam) KŚ ApŚ

tan me gopāya (Kauś °yasva) MS. KS ApŚ MŚ Kauś

tam gopāya (KS ŚG °yasva) KS AG. ŚG ApMB *tām gopāyasva* TA *asvapnaś ca mānavadrānaś collarato gopāyetām* (KS MG *ca dahṣiṇato gopāyatām*) KS PG MG *asvapnaś ca tvānavadrānaś ca rakṣatām* AV See also Conc under *gopāyanś ca*, *jāgrnś ca*, *didivś ca*, and *gopāyamānam gopāyatām* is 3d dual impv act, rather than 3d sing impv mid

§43. *grah* (*grabh*) 'seize' (D 240)

tam ālman (MS KS *ālman*) *pari grhñīmahe vayam* (MS *grhñīmāṣha*) TS MS KS

(*asyed indro madeṣv ā*) *grābham grbhñīta* (SV *grbhñāti*) *sānasim* RV SV

§44. *jan* 'beget'

surayā (MS KS *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanā* (KS † TB °ti) *retah* VS. † MS KS TB

hṛdā matm janaye (VS KS TB °ya) *cārum agnaye* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ

dyāvāpṛthivyor aham devayajyayobhayor lokayor ṛdhyāsam (KS * *devaya-jyayā prajāniṣeyam prajāyā paśubhih*, KS * MŚ *devayajyayā prajāniṣīya prajāyā paśubhih*) KS (bis) ApŚ MŚ See §175

§45. *juṣ* 'enjoy' (D 229)

sa no nedīṣṭham (TS MS °ihā, VS ŚB *viśvāni*) *havanāni joṣat* (TS *joṣate*, MS *havanā jujoṣa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB On perfect active and present middle cf Renou 14, 144ff

īripṛā (SV. *ripṛāya*) gātham gāyata yaj jujoṣati (AA. °ṣat, SV. *yam jujoṣate*) SV AA ŚŚ

§46. *tan* 'extend' (D. 242)

bṛhaspatir yajñam imam tanoti VS ŚB. LŚ : bṛhaspatis tanutām imam naḥ TS. TB.

yā akṛntann arayan yā atanrata (AV yās ca tatnire) AV SMB. PG ApMB. HG : yā akṛntan yā atanran MG.—MG is obviously secondary, and may perhaps be a case of purely external form-assimilation *atanran* for *atanrata* to match *akṛntan*

yunakta śrā ri yugā tanudhram (AV TS MS. KS *tanota*) RV AV. VS TS. MS. KS ŚB

§47. *tar* 'cross'

pra candramās tirale (TS † °ti; AV. † °mas tirase) dīrgham āyuh RV. AV TS. MS KS N.

ṛsusīrābhīs tirale ājābharmabhīh (SV. TS. *tarati vājākarmabhīh*) RV. SV. TS. KS. See §197.

§48. *dā* 'give' (D. 242)

isam ūrjam aham ita ādam (TS ApŚ ādade; MS KS MŚ ādi) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ MŚ VS comm understands *ādam* as from *ad* 'eat', but the accent shows that it is from *ā* + *dā* 'take'. The active of *ā* + *dā* is rare or anomalous; cf. Delbrück.

na me tad (ApŚ. *ma idam*) upadambhīṣar dhṛṣir (ApŚ °bhīṣag ṛṣir [once, erroneously, *udambhī*]) brahmā yad dadau (ApŚ *dade*) MS ApŚ

§49. *di* 'shine' (only in participles; cf. §31)

ajāsrena bhānunā dīdyatam (TS *dīdyānam*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB.

viśvā āśā dīdyāno (MS. KS. *dīdyad*) vi bhāhi VS TS. MS KS ŚB. TB

The meter favors *dīdyāno*.

§49a. *dhā* 'set' (D. 243; cf. also Grassmann s.v.)

aṅgirasām tvā devānām (ApŚ *devānām vṛatapate*; Kauś *devānām ādityānām*) vṛatenā dadhe (ApŚ *dadhāmi*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ. Kauś . *bhṛgūnām tvāṅgirasām* (ApŚ *tvā devānām*) vṛatenā dadhāmi TB ApŚ. And similarly under *ādityānām tvā devānām*, *indrasya tvā* etc., *manos tvā* etc., see Conc.

asmin rāṣṭra indriyam dadhāmi AB asmin rāṣṭre śriyam dadhe SMB *parīdam iśo adhīhāh* (HG. *adhīdhāh*, ApMB. *adhī dhā*) svastaye AV. HG. ApMB The readings of HG ApMB are obviously inferior; the sense requires a middle ('thou hast put this garment round thyself unto well-being').

ni me dhehi ni te dadhe (VSK *dadhau*) VS. VSK. TS MS KS ŚB. AŚ
The middle is here proper, VSK. assimilates the voice to that of *dhehi*.

annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat Kaus *annādam annādyāyādadhe* (KS *annādyāyānnapatyāyādadhe*) TS KS · *annādam agnim annapatyāyādadhe* MS · *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ · *agnim annādam annādyāyādadhe* VS

garbham dadhāthām te vām aham dade TB. ApŚ *reto dhattam puṣṭyar prajānanam* MŚ

pañcabhūr dhātā vi dadhā (MS p p *dadhe*, TS *dadhāv*) *idam yat* (MS *om yat*) TS MS KS. Uncertain, because KS must, and MS may (contrary to its p p), intend *dadhau*, like TS

vāh tvā samudra upadadhātu (ApŚ °dhe) KS ApŚ Cf §139

§50. *nam* 'bend'

saṁ ākūṭir namāmasi (MS *anansata*, 3 pl mid) RVKh AV MS

tasmai viśah svayam evā namante (TB °ti) RV TB AB

saṁ bāhubhyām dhamati (AV *bharati*, TS TA. *namati*, KS *namate*, MS °bhyām *adhamati*) *saṁ patatrāṣh* (KS *yajatrāṣh*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU SvetU

§51. *nī* 'lead' (D 244)

agnis te 'gram nayatu TS *agnis te agram nayatām* MŚ

samudrasya tvākṣityā un nayāmi VS ŚB *samudrasya vo 'kṣityā un naye* TS MS KS. ApŚ. MS The VS SB reading simulates *triṣṭubh* meter, the passage is really prose

devasya tvā savituh prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām upa nayāmy asau (HG. *naye 'sau*) ŚG HG And others, see Conc.

īṣam madantah pari gām nayadhvam (AV *nayāmah*) RV AV MG

§52. *nud* 'expel' (D 244)

nih kravyādam nudāmasi (MS *nudasva*) AV MS

agnis tām asmāt pra nunottu lokāt MŚ · *agnis tām* (VS *tām*, AŚ *tāl*) *lokāt pra nudāty* (AŚ *nudātu*, SMB. *nudatu*) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ ApŚ SMB. *agne tām asmāt pra nudasva lokāt* ApŚ

§53. *pac* 'cook' (D 245)

ity apacah TB ApŚ. *ity apacathāh* MŚ

varūtrayo janayas tvā pacantūkhe TS *varūtrī* (and, *varu*°) *tvā . . pacatām ukhe* MS *janayas tvā pacantūkhe* VS MS KS ŚB

§54. *bandh* 'bind' (D 245)

mitras tvā padī badhnātu (VS ŚB *badhnātām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

yena tvābadhnāt (KŚ *māba*°, TS ApMB* *yam abadhnūta*) *savitā suśevah* (AV °vāh, TS ApMB* *suketah*) RV. AV TS ApMB (bis) KŚ.

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ on this see §30, end

§55. *bhar* 'bear' (D 230)

tatra rayisthām anu sambharantam (MŚ °*retām*, 3 du impv mid.) TB
ApŚ MŚ. (In TB. ApŚ *sambhara—etam*)

(*ud u tvā vīśve devā*) *agne bharantu* (MS also *bharanta*) *cittibhih* VS. TS.
MS. KS ŚB. See §156

§56. *bhū* 'be, become'

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ °*yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS °*thōm*) MS KS.
TB ApŚ —MS. (2 du mid) is probably only an error for 3 du.
set °*ām*, mechanically influenced by the parallel form *ārabhethām*;
see §§337 and 21.

yathāgnir akṣito 'nupadasta evam mahyam putre 'kṣito 'nupadasta (HG.
°*iah*) *svadhā bhava* (HG *bhavatām*) ApMB. HG And the same
with *yathā vāyur* , *yathādityo* See §329

§57. *bhrāj* 'shine'

sa yathā tvam bhrājatā bhrājo 'sy evāham bhrājatā bhrājyāsam AV : *sa*
yathā tvam bhrājyā bhrājasa evam aham bhrājyā bhrājīṣya MS
mahi bhrājante (TS MS. KS °*iy*) *arcayo vibhāvaso* RV. SV. VS TS.
MS KS ŚB On the evidence of RV. (see Grassmann) the middle
present is prior to the active. See also Whitney, *Roots* s.v., and
Oldenberg, *Proleg* 309

§58. *mad* 'revel'

hotā yakṣad aśvinau somānām pibatu madantām vyantu MS.: .
vyantu pibantu madantu (form-assimilation) AŚ. The KS parallel
lacks any form of *mad*

pibantu madantu (MS °*ām*) *vyantu* (TB. *vyantu somam*) VS MS TB.
Cf *prec*

yatrā (TA *yatra*) *suhārdah sukṛto madanti* (TA. °*le*) AV. TA.

§59. *muc* 'release' (D. 247)

yena sūryam tamaso nir amoci (TA *mumoca*) MS TA. *amoci* must be
interpreted as 3d person middle, not passive.

Participles (cf. §31).

pramuñcamānā (AV °*canto*) *bhuvanasya retah* AV TS KS. ApŚ.
MŚ

§60. *yaj* 'revere' (D 248), see §35 above

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yaksī (KS TS TB °*yāt*) VS TS. KS ŚB.
TB , *ava no devair devakṛtam eno 'yaksī* MS KS See §266.

agne devānām ava heda 'yaksva (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ . *ava devānām yaja*
hedo agne (KS *yaje hīdyāni*; MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV KS MŚ Cf.
ava devān yaje hedyān TB ApŚ

sarvān apa yajāmasi Kauś *sarvān ava yajāmahe* KS†. TB TAA ApŚ.

asau yaja AŚ. *asau yajate* LŚ

mahyam yajāntu (AV KS °nlām) *mama yān havyā* (AV KS yānīṣṭā)
RV AV TS KS

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje h*) TS MŚ See §36

yasmād yoner udārīhā (KS °lha) *yaje* (MS KS *yajā*) *tam* RV VS
TS MS KS. ŚB

§61. *yam* 'hold' (D 248)

yachantām pañca VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ · *yachantu pañca* MS · *yachantu*
tṛā pañca KS

gharmasyaikā savitāikām n *yachat* (MS KS °te, PG °tu) TS MS KS
PG

§62. *yu* 'separate' and 'unite' (D 249)

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yoṣṭa (HG *yūdhvam*) ApŚ MŚ HG · *mā vo*
(AŚ no) 'to *'nyat pitaro yoyuvata* (AŚ *yuñgādhvam*) AŚ Kauś

n *no rayīm subhojasam yuvasva* (TS *yuveha*) RV VS TS MS KS. Cf.
Delbruck, l c, and §36 above

§63. *rakṣ* 'protect' (D 250)

agne havyam rakṣasva (VS ŚB *rakṣa*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB
MŚ

viṣṇo havyam rakṣasva (VS ŚB *rakṣa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
MŚ.

vratam rakṣanti viśvahā AV *vratā rakṣante viśvāhā* RV The AV
reading is in every way secondary, cf the formulas *vratā rakṣante*
in Conc.

§64. *vad* 'speak' (D 252)

achāvāka vadasva (MŚ. *vada*) AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *achāvāka vadasva yat te*
vādyam AB KB ŚB KŚ ApŚ

avapatanīr avadan RV VS TS MS KS *avayatiḥ sam avadanta* VSK
pippalyah samavadanta AV Here the preposition *sam* is, of
course, concerned in the use of the middle, which might perhaps
better be placed in §30

satyam vadīṣyām (TA * *vadīṣye*) TA (bis) TU ŚG MG

§65. *var* (caus *vāraya*) 'hold in, hold off' (D 230)

antar evosmānam vārayadhvāt (MS TB *vārayatāt*, but most mss and
p p of MS °*dhvāt*) MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ

varano vārayātar AV *varano vārayiṣyate* AV *varuno* (Poona ed
- *varano*) *vārayāt* TA See §171

§66. *var* 'turn' (D 235)

zme jīvā v *mylaur āvavrtan* (TA *āvavartin*!) RV AV TA AG The
monstrous form is found in both edd of TA, text and comm,

comm. glosses by *āvr̥tāh*. It can only be felt as a wholly anomalous 3d plural impf act.

ṛtenāsya nivar̥taye (MŚ °ya), *satyena parivar̥taye* (MŚ °ya) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §116.

§67. *vah* 'carry' (D. 253)

ta ā vahanti (MS *layāvahante*) *kavayah purastāt* TS MS. TB.

jāavedo vahemam (ŚŚ. *vahasvainam*) *sukṛtām yatra lolah* (TA. *lolāh*) TA. ŚŚ The reading of ŚŚ. is obviously secondary.

ayasā havyam ūhiṣe ApŚ ApMB HG. *ayā san* (MS ŚŚ. *ayāh san*, and so ApMB. comm explains; KS *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS KS TB. AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB. HG.: *ayā na yajñam vahāsi* KŚ. See §140

§68. *vid* 'obtain' and 'perceive' (D. 253)

videya TS KS AŚ ApŚ. *videyam* KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ *videya* TS is in same passage as *videyam* ŚŚ

brāhmanam adya videyam (VSK. °ya) VS. VSK. ŚB.

tat puruṣāya (MahānU * °śasya) *vidmahe* MS KS TA. MahānU : *puruṣasya vidma sahasrākṣasya* TA (immediately preceding the other form)

tasya viltāt (MS *visva*) TS MS KS : *etasya viltāt* VS. ŚB. 'Take note of that'

mā jñātāram mā pratiṣṭhām vidanta (AG † *vindantu*) AV. AG

§69. *viś* 'enter' (D 253)

ny anyā arkam abhūto vivisre (AV 'visanta, JB *viviśyuh*) RV. AV. JB. ŚB. AA.

sa no mayobhūh pīto āvisasva (ŚG PG SMB [Jorgensen] *pīlav āvisasva*; AŚ *pīlav āviśaha*; MŚ *pītur āviveśa*) TS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG : *sa nah pīto* (I) *madhumān ā viveśa* Kauś. *sa nah pīto madhumān ā viśaha* KS See §§139, 332, on perfect active and present middle, Renou 14, 144ff

Participles (cf §31)

viśo-viśah pravivṛvānsam īmahe AV. *viśvasyām viśi pravivṛvānsam* (KS † *pravivṛvānam*) īmahe TS MS KS See §273

§70. *vyā* 'envelop' (D 254)

asmai devā amṛtāh (AV °tam) *sam vyayantām* (AV °ntu) AV TS MS. ApMB

tās tvā devīr (SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB HG °sā) *sam vyayantu* (PG *vyayasva*) SMB PG HG ApMB MG. *tās tvā jarase sam vyayantu* AV Stenzler, Transl of PG 1 4 13, takes PG. to be a mere corruption, at a pinch it could perhaps be rendered 'wrap

thyself in these goddesses unto old age', with distinct middle force, belonging then with the preceding section

§71. *śudh* 'purify, be pure'

yad vo 'śuddhāḥ parā jaghnur etc, see §30

yat te krūram tat te śudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena śundhatām*, MS *tad etena śundhasva*) VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ Here both verbs are middle in force, or, more strictly, *śudhyatu* is properly a passive, made into an active intransitive by change from middle to active ending, see §§82, 30

§72. *śri* 'set up' (D 255)

vāk palamgāya śīrīye TS *vāk palamgo aśīśrīyat* (KS *°gā aśīśrayuh*) AV KS See §219

yā na ūrū uśatī vīśrayāte (AV *°ti*, ApMB HG *vīśrayātai*) RV AV ApMB HG See §253

§73. *sad* 'sit' (D 230)

tisro devīr barhūr edam sadantu (AV *°tām*) RV AV VS TS KS
sarasvatī (AV *°tīh*) *svapasah sadantu* (AV *°tām*) RV AV VS MS KS
TB N

§74. *sarj* 'loosen' (D 255f)

tēna mām indra sam sṛja (MŚ *sṛjasva*) TS TB MŚ
rāyas poṣena sam sṛja (MG *sṛjasva*) AV VS TS MS KS ApŚ SMB
MG In this and the prec *sṛjasva* in the cadence is *baḍ*
in (MS KS *pra*) *parjanyaḥ* (RV *°yam*, TS *°yāh*) *sṛjanti* (MS KS *sṛjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS
pāvamānasya tvā ślomena vīryenoś sṛje MS *pāvamānena tvā ślomena vīryena devas tvā savitoś sṛjatu* TS

§75. *stu* 'praise' (D 257)

indravanta (AB *°tah*) *stuta* (AB *studhvam*) AB GB Vait
stuta Vait MŚ *om stuta* ŚŚ ApŚ *studhvam* AŚ *om studhvam* AŚ
indro vide tam u stuhu (AA *stuṣe*) AA Mahānāmnyah See §165

§76. *sthā* 'stand' (D 257)

śivo me saptaṛṣṇin (KS MŚ *sapta ṛṣṇin*) *upa tiṣṭhasva* (Vait MŚ *tiṣṭhā*) TS Vait KS MŚ
yāvāc ca sapta sindhavo vitasthīre (TS *°tasthuh*) TS VS *yāvāc sapta sindhavo vitasthīre* AV.
yenarṣa bhūtas tiṣṭhaty (MahānU *bhūtais tiṣṭhate hy*) *antarātmā* TA. MahānU
kṣullṛṣṇābhīyām tam yo gām vikṛntantam mānsam bhikṣamāna upatiṣṭhate TB *kṣudhe yo gām vikṛntantam bhikṣamāna upatiṣṭhati* VS.

caus *sthāpaya* 'place' (cf D 257)

ā *mātarā sthāpayase jṛgatnū* RV AV.. *āsthāpayata mātaram jṛgatnum* AV.

§77. *hu* 'sacrifice'

pra tre havīṣi juhure (KS *juhūmas*) *saṁiddhe* (MS. *tre saṁiddhe juhure havīṣi*) RV VS TS MS. KS ŚB But *juhure* may be passive, with *havīṣi* as subject, so Grassmann.

indrāya devebhyo juhutā (ApŚ *juṣatām*; MŚ. *juhutām*) *haviḥ svāhā* PB. KS ApŚ MŚ

§78. *hū* 'call' (D 261)

huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU. *hvaṣyāmi*) *śakram puruhūlam indram* RV. AV SV VS. TS MS KS. MahānU.

tam sarasvantam avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*; KS. *johavīmi*) RVKh AV. TS MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ : *sarasvantam avase johavīmi* RV. The AV reading introduces a *jagatī* pāda into an otherwise *triṣṭubh* stanza, while KS. is a bad *triṣṭubh* contaminated from the two other readings. (Delete reference to KS 19. 14d in Conc. under *sarasvantam*, and add *his* to this reference under the other)

agnim (MahānU. *ugram*, AV *ukthair*) *huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV. TA MahānU. The AV. reading is metrically bad

ṛtasya patnīm avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) AV. VS TS. KS. MS AŚ. ŚŚ The stanza is otherwise *triṣṭubh*

prātaraṇām bhagam ugram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV VS TB. ApMB N As in prec, *triṣṭubh* stanza.

prātaḥ somam ula rudram huvema (AV *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS TB. ApMB Here, on the contrary, the rest of the stanza is *jagatī*, and AV makes this pāda fit its context metrically.

havante vājasātaye RV. *huveya vā°* RV. AV : *huvema vā°* RV. SV MS. KS

§79. *Interchanges between active and middle which occur only once*

aṛṣ 'move' (D. 233) *marya va yuvatibhīḥ sam aṛṣati* (AV. *va yoṣāḥ sam aṛṣase*) RV SV. AV. The AV. reading is bad in meter and sense

as 'throw' (D. 237) *ayam yajamāno mṛdho vyasyatām* (AŚ *vyasyatu*) TB. AŚ ApŚ

ās + *upa* 'revere' (cf D. 233) *brahmanīd upāsvaitat* (MahānU. *upāsvaitat*) *tapah* TA MahānU. But Poonad of TA as MahānU., v 1. *upāsvat°* See §195

ṛ + *adh* 'read' (D 237) *adhāḥ bhoh* AG ŚG. GG KhG HG GDh. ApDh RVPṛatīśākhya 15 2 *adhīsva bhoh* MDh AuśDh

- i + palā* 'flee' *palāyīṣyamānāya svāhā* TS *palāyīṣyate svāhā* KS
Participles
- edh* 'prosper' (D 229) *athāsyar* (TS. MS TB °syā) *madhyam edhatām*
(Vait °tu, AŚ LŚ *ejatu*, ŚŚ *ejati*) VS TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
Vait LŚ *adhāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA
- kar* 'praise' *sacāyor indraś carḥṣa* (3d sing pres intensive mid) ā
RV *sadā va indraś carḥṣad ā* SV. See Grassmann s v. *kar*, and
Oldenberg RVNoten 2 325
- kalp*, caus *kalpaya* 'shape' (cf D 234) *yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV °vāh)
kalpayasva (AV VS *kalpayāti*) RV AV VS
- gar* 'praise' *marutām pitar uta tad grñmah* KS *marutām pītas tad*
aham grñam (MS *grñe te*) TS MS
- gar* 'sing' (D. 240) *rājānam samgāyata* (PG °gāyetām) ŚG PG
- ghuṣ* 'sound'. *devaśrutau deveṣu ā ghoṣethām* (VS ŚB *ghoṣatam*) VS. TS
MS KS ŚB. MŚ
- cat*, caus 'drive off' (cf D 231) *ghoṣenāmivānś cātayata* (PB °mivān
cātayadhvam) PB TB ApŚ
- cī* 'observe'. *calṣuṣā nī cikīṣate* (MS °ti) VS TS MS KS ŚB.
- jī* 'conquer' (D 241) *ity amum samgrāmam ahan* (MŚ *ajayathāh*, ŚB
ajayat) ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
- dah* 'burn' (D 242) *ā te yatante rathyo yathāprthak, śardhānsy agne*
ajarāni (SV *ajarasya*) *dhalṣatah* (ApŚ *dhalṣyase*) RV. SV MS
ApŚ See §§27, 250.
- dā* 'fly' *parnavīr va dīyati* (SV °te) RV SV.
- dīkṣ* 'consecrate' (D 234) *agnir dīkṣitah prthivī dīkṣā sū mā dīkṣā*
dīkṣayatu (JB *dīkṣeta*) *tayā dīkṣayā dīkṣe* JB ApŚ And others,
see §160 The active is better, note the medio-passive *dīkṣe* follow-
ing in both texts
- dyut* 'shine'. *sam sūryena rocate* (SV *dīdyute*) RV SV VS MS ŚB
TA *sam sūryena dīdyutad udadhīr mīdhīh* VS
- dhar*, *dhāraya* 'hold' *soma* (MS *somā*) *indro varuno mitro agnis te devā*
dharmaḍhṛto dharmam dhārayantu (KS °lām *te* 'smaṣ *vācam suvan-*
tām) MS KS
- dharṣ* 'dare'. *nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate* (AA *dadharṣa*, ŚŚ *dadharṣayā*)
śavaḥ AV AV ŚŚ 'He is not to be dared against, his might dares'
See Whitney on AV 6 33 2 and Keith on AA 5 2 3 1 ŚŚ
seems to intend a perfect from caus, in sense of primary
- naś* 'perish' *alalṣmī me nasyatu* (MahānU °ta) TA MahānU cf
alalṣmīr me naśyatām RVKh See under *bhaṣ*, below
- naś* 'attain' *madhūā yajñam naḥṣati* (VS TS *naḥṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV
prai°) AV VS TS MS KS

parc 'mix': *viṣe viṣam apr̥kthāh* (and, *ap̥rāg api*) AV. (both). See §36.

palāya 'flee': see *i + palā*.

pū 'purify' (D. 234, 245) *tat punīdhvam* (and, *punīdhvam ca*) *yavā mama ViDh* : *sarvam punatha me yavāh BDh* : *sarvam punatha (ViDh punāta) me pāpam BDh ViDh*.

bhaja 'share' (D. 246). *śrī me bhajata MahānU* · *śrīr me bhajatu TA*. Comm on *MahānU* : *lakṣmīr mahyam bhajatu ity arthah*. See *naś* 'perish', above.

majj 'dive' (D 232). *upamañkṣyati syā* (ŚŚ. °*mañkṣye* 'ham) *salilasya madhye ŚB ŚŚ* : *numañkṣye* 'ham *salilasya madhye AB*

man 'think' (D. 234) · *tam manyeta (ViDh var manyet) pitarām mātaram ca SamhitopB. VāDh ViDh N*

ram 'rest' (D 250): *iha rama (SMB ramaṣva)* MS. AB AŚ. ApŚ. SMB HG · *iha ramatām VS ŚB HG*. Note that HG. 1. 12. 2 has *rama* and *ramatām* side by side VS. comm *iha bhavān ramatām*.

rā (*ram*) 'give'. *na pāpatvāya rāsiya (SV. rañsiṣam) RV. AV. SV*. See §174

rājaya (denom) 'be king' (cf. D 232): *adhurājo rājasu rājayātai (TS. °ti, MS. rājayate) AV. TS. MS* See §117

ruh 'grow'. *vayā wānu rohate (KS. °ti) RV KS ApŚ. MŚ* · *vayā wānu rohate juṣanta yat RV*.

rej 'tremble': *arejetām (TB. arejayatām) rodasī pājasā girā RV. TB*. See §241

luh 'desire' (D 232). *yan me mātā pralulubhe (ApMB. HG. °lulobha; ApŚ °mamāda) ApŚ ŚG ApMB. HG. MDh*.

vakṣ 'grow' · *deva somaiṣa te lokas tasmīñ cham ca vakṣva pari ca vakṣva (VSK lokah pari ca vakṣi śam ca vakṣi, ŚBK. tasmīñ cham pari ca vakṣi sam ca vakṣi) VS VSK ŚB ŚBK* See §164

vac 'speak' (D 251) *pra tad voced (TA MahānU voce) amṛtam nu (AV. amṛtasya) vdvān AV VS TA MahānU*. But the form *voce* is highly questionable; see § 174

vadh 'slay' (D. 232): *indriyam me vīryam mā nīr vadhāh (MŚ. vadhiṣta) TS. MŚ*

van 'win' *dauvā hotāro (TS °rā) vanuṣanta (TS vani°) pūrve (KS † vanuṣan na etat) RV TS KS* Cf *dauvā hotārah sanuṣan na etat AV*

vap 'throw' (D 252) *pratiprasthātah savanīyān nīr vapa (MŚ vapasva) ApŚ MŚ*

vardh 'grow' (D 253) *avīr̥dhāt (VSK avīr̥dhata) purodāṣena (VSK. puroḷ°) VS VSK* Cf *avīr̥dhanta* etc in Conc

- valh 'ask a riddle'. *etad brahmann upavahāmasi* (AŚ *apa°*, LŚ *upabahāmahe*) *tvā* VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ
- śikṣ 'help' *indro yajvane prnate ca śikṣati* (AV *grnate ca śikṣate*) RV AV TB
- sac 'follow' (D 230) *anyavratasya* (TA *anyad vratasya*) *saścima* (RV *saścire*, TA *saścimah*) RV VS MS ŚB TA Read *saścima* in TA §262, c
- san 'be effective' (D 233) *aryo naśanta sanṣanta* (SV † *nas santu sanṣantu*) *no dhīyah* RV SV See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 72
- sar 'move' (caus): *tā ubhau* (TS MS. KSA ApŚ *tau saha*) *caturah padah sam prasārayāva* (TS KSA ApŚ *°yāvahai*, MS *°yāvah*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ
- sah 'be able' *pra sākṣate pratimānān bhūrī* RV AV. *pra sakṣati pratimānam prthivyāh* AV
- sukratūya 'have excellent wisdom' (denom) *varter yazñam pariyan sukratūyase* (KS *°st*) RV KS
- sev 'be devoted to' *grdhrah suparnah kunapam nī ševati* (TA † *ševase*) MS TA
- stan 'thunder' (D 232) *pra te divo na stanayanti śuṣmāh* (MS *°yanta śuṣmah*) RV TS MS
- snā 'bathe', caus (D 232) *prasnāpayanty ūrmīnam* RV *prasnāpayanta ūrmayah* SV Benfey, Transl 270a, 'waves bathed' (soma) The SV passage is thoroly secondary, its comm., as quoted by Benfey, suggests that *ūrmayah* stands for acc sing *ūrmīm*, the subject being precmpted by *svasārah* But it may be taken as an additional, asyndetic subject: 'the fingers (and) the waves wash (soma).' Benfey's 'imperfect' is a slip for present
- svad 'taste' (D 230) *havyā te svadantūm* (MS *svadan*, and once—erroneously?—*svadam*, KS *asvadan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
- svap 'sleep' (D 236) *ūrdhvas tīṣṭhan mā divā svāpsīh* Kauś *mā divā suṣupthāh* (SMB GG HG *svāpsīh*) ŚG SMB GG PG HG *mā suṣupthāh* ŚB ApMB *divā mā svāpsīh* AG
- han 'slay' (D 259) *jaghanān upa jighnate* (MS *°tu*, p p *°ti*) RV VS TS MS KSA
- hā 'leave' (D 234). *nī vo jūmayo jihatā* (ŚŚ *jihatām*) *ny ajāmayah* KB AŚ ŚŚ
- hi 'incite' *ṛtasya yonau* (RV *yonā*) *mahiṣā ahinvan* (RV *ahēṣata*) RV TS KS ApMB

3 Interchange between active and passive

§80. Encroachment of passive construction upon active is a growing movement thru the history of Classical Sanskrit. It is already noticeable in the later Vedic texts, and indeed is not entirely absent in the earliest, see Delbruck, *AI Syntax* 268ff, who quotes many instances of passive construction where we should expect the active.

§81. The passive finite forms are originally medio-passive, their most conspicuous representatives, the present passive system, are specialized middles, and the remaining tenses, for the most part, are ordinary middles, not at all differentiated in form.¹⁰ Hence, occasionally, a present middle construction interchanges with an active construction in a manner comparable with the variants of the present rubric, see above, §30. In a considerable number of cases, moreover, the passive version uses a past passive participle, with or without copula, for which see §245ff, and a few similar cases will be found in the rubric Perfect Passive Participles interchanging with Moods, §143f.

§82. There are one or two cases of a present passive form in *ya* appearing with active endings (cf Whitney, *Grammar* §§761b, 774):

yathā tvam agne samudhā samudhyase (SMB † °si) SMB PG. ApMB. HG.

But SMB has a v. 1 °se

yai te krāram. tat te śudhyatu etc., see §71.

§83. In the following list, in which both versions contain finite verbs (or, in a very few cases at the end, active and passive participles), no attempt is made, as a rule, to establish priority for either active or passive construction. The examples are largely from ritual texts in which both constructions may be assumed to be familiar, and which offer no basis for relative chronology. In one instance, however, which involves RV, the active construction is clearly prior.

mahe cana tvām adrivah, parā śulkāya deyām RV. 'not would I, even for a high price, sell thee, O (Indra) to whom belong the press-stones'
mahe ca na tvādrivah, parā śulkāya dīyase SV., where *tvā* and *dīyase* together make nonsense. Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 278

§84. On the other hand, in

ād id ghṛtēna pṛthivī vy udyate (AV † *pṛthivīm vy ūduh*) RV. AV. MS.

¹⁰ It is to be noted that the well-known 3d person in *z* (Whitney, *Grammar* §§ 842ff), which is the only finite form outside of the present supposed to have exclusively passive function, is used at least once as a middle with active force, interchanging with a perfect active of the same meaning. See *yena sūryam tamaso nṛ amoci* (*mumoca*), §59. Cf further Neisser, *BB* 30 305, and the variant *ā gharṇo agnīm ṛtayanā asādī* etc., §84

KS *ād it prthivī ghṛtair vy udyate* TS : cf. *ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī vy undhī* (KS *vyundan*) RV KS.

the solitary active of AV. is clearly secondary, patterned after RV 5 83 8.

Thus also in the following, the (medio-?) passive of RV is superior to TA's active.

ā gharṃ agnīm ṛṇayann asādī (TA *asādīt*) RV TA . *ā gharṃ agnīm amṛto na sādī* MS We agree with Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 5 43 7, in considering the TA variant 'meaningless' for the RV, against Neisser (*BB* 30 305) who finds it important and would interpret *asādī* as a middle, cf. our footnote 10 above, which shows that the middle interpretation of the word is *per se* quite possible

§85. The remaining cases involve occasionally direct transmutations of one voice into the other, but for the most part the interrelations are of a looser kind, in which active in one version and passive in the other are not directly convertible

rajaṭā harinīh sīsā (MS *rajaṭāh sīsā harinūr*), *yujō yujyante* (MS *yujjantu*) karmabhīh VS TS MS KSA

yat svapne annam aśnāmi AV *yad annam adyate nakṭam* (HG *sāyam*) ApŚ HG

strnanti (RV * *strñta*, RV * AV *tishre*) *barhīr ānuṣāh* RV (all three) AV SV VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ N *tishre* is passive

yenākṣā (ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*, SMB *yenākṣān*, PG *yenākṣyāv*) *abhyasicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB *abhyasīcatam*, PG **tām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG See §332 Subject is Aśvins, except in AV, where the verse is address to them too, but turned into passive construction with subject *akṣāh*

varca ā dhehī me tanvam (KS *dhāyī me tanūh*) AV KS

satyam ṛte 'dhāyī (TB *dhāyī*, but Poona ed. *'dhāyī* here and in next, TS KSA *'dhām*) TS KSA TB ApŚ

ṛtam satye 'dhāyī (TB, see prec, TS KSA *'dhām*), same texts

mayī dhāyī (MS *dhehī*) *suwīryam* MS TB TA

abhīramantu bhavantaḥ V1Dh *abhīramyatām* (MŚ **thām*) MŚ ŚG YDh BrhPDh

ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī pūryethām VS ŚB *ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī ā prne-thām* (MS MŚ *prna*, LŚ *prnāthām svāhā*) TS MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ

maṣām kam canoc chiṣāh TS TB ApŚ *maṣām uc cheṣī kim cana* AV *māmīṣām kam canoc chiṣāh* RV SV VS *māmīṣām moci kaś cana* AV

paramena paṣunā krīyase (MS *krīyasva*) VS MS KS ŚB . *taṣyās te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantyāś caramena paṣunā krīnāmī* TS
pra tve havīṣi juhure (juhumas) , see §77. *juhure* either mid. or
 pass

tat strīyām anu śicyate (ŚG *śīñcatu*) AV ŚG
saha dharmam cara (GDh. *d'harmas caryatām*) GDh. NāradaDh. *sahobhau caratām dharmam* MDh

asmin goṣṭha upa prīca nah AV . *āsu goṣṭha pricyatām* RV. TB. LŚ.

The AV is secondary in various ways, see Whitney on 9. 4. 23

tan me 'rādhi (Kauś *rāddham*) VS TS TA. Kauś *tenārātsyam* (ŚŚ. MŚ GG. *°rātsam*) MS ŚŚ MŚ GG Sec §248

dadato me mā kṣāyi (GB. Vait *me mopadasah*, MS. *°sat*) TS. MS. KS. GB. TB Vait ApŚ.

ajany agnir hotā (ApŚ. *ajann agnih*) *pūrvah pūrvebhyaḥ pavamānah pāvakaś śucir* (ApŚ. *śuch pāvaka*) *īdyah* KS ApŚ. Cf. Delbruck, AISyntax 266

§86. A couple of cases, finally, concern interchange of active and passive participles, as stated above, we shall deal later with the more numerous instances of interchange between participles and finite verbs

tantum tanvan (KS *talam*) *rajaso bhānum anv ihi* RV. TS KS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ ApŚ AG HG

harṣamānāso dhr̥ṣtā (TB. *°atā*) *marutvah* RV. TB N. *dhr̥ṣatā* is an adverbial instrumental of the present participle.

4 Interchange between passive and middle

§87. This group exhibits interestingly a few cases in which the medio-passive value of *ātmanepada* forms, quite clear by themselves, is, as it were, glossed by corresponding passive forms Thus, twice, the medio-passive *amukthāḥ* varies with *amoci*, or *bhakṣyamānah* (*bhakṣamānah*) with *bhaktah* Note Delbruck's remark on *amoci*, op cit. 266, and, more generally, 263 ff A few cases of this sort are unreliable on account of the phonetic uncertainty of *y* in combination with two other consonants, such as *vṛścantiām* and *vṛścantiām*, the former of which may in reality be equal to *vṛścantiām*, cf §§27, 28

mā prnan pūrtiā vi rādhiṣṭa (TS *rādhi*) TS MS KS

amoci (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB.

Followed by.

druhaḥ pāśān nūrtiyai codamoci TB ApMB *druhaḥ pāśād grāhyās*

codamukhlāh AV Cf Delbruck, op cit. 266 Both here and in the pree Ppp has *amoci*, but see §329
sam barhur aklam (VS ŚB *añklām*) *harisā ghr̥tena* AV VS ŚB *sam añklām* ba° ha° ghr̥° TB ApŚ See §144

vājino vājayito vājam bhāgam avajighrata nī mṛjānāh (KS *bhāge nīmṛjatām*, TS *bhāge nī mṛddhvam*) VS TS KS ŚB *vājinau vājayitau vājam jivā bṛhaspater bhāge nīmṛjyethām* MS The last phrase means. 'Be ye (ye two) cleansed', or 'being cleansed' (mid participle in VS ŚB), or 'let them be cleansed' Only MS has a definitely passive form, the rest have middles substantially in passive sense

ā vr̥ścyanām (AV *vr̥scantām*) *aditaye durevāh* RV AV See §28
ghr̥tena dyāvūpr̥thivī ā pr̥nethām (MS MŚ *pr̥na*, LŚ *pr̥nāthām svāhā*) TS MS KS. LŚ ApŚ MŚ *ghr̥tena dyāvūpr̥thivī pūryethām* VS ŚB The contrast between *pr̥nethām* and *pūryethām* brings this variant in here, cf §85

svāhā marudbhūh (MS MŚ °*bhyah*) *parīśrayasva* (VS ŚB °*śriyasva*) VS MS ŚB MŚ TA KŚ *marudbhūh parīśriyasva* ŚB 'Hail, be encompassed (encompass thyself) with (for) the Maruts'
na karmanā lipyate pāpakena ŚB TB BrhU BDh 'he is not stained by evil action' *na karma lipyate nare* VS ĪśU 'action does not stick to a man' The latter shows *lipyate* middle in form but almost transitive in meaning (governing *nare*)

Participles

bhakṣo bhakṣyamānah (KS ms *bhakṣa°*) VS KS Cf *bhakṣah pītah* VSK *bhakṣa āgatah* TS See §27

jayānā (SV *yā jātā*) *pūtadaśasā* RV SV

nir̥ityai parivindānam (TB *parivittam*), and, *ārtiyai purvittam* (TB. *parivindānam*) VS TB Exchange between the two equivalent participles

[*samjīhānāya svāhā* TS KSA Conc quotes *samjīhātāya* for KSA]

CHAPTER III THE MOODS

Observations on the scope and character of modal interchanges

§88 In the midst of the variations which concern the verb change of mood looms as the most constant and important. Any mood may be supplanted by any other—*bellum omnium contra omnes*—in most cases, apparently, without any clear change of meaning. If there is any psychological shift of attitude in these changes, that shift is at the most and solely due to an arbitrary change in the appraisal of the original mood. Granted that the moods really expressed different values, there is no conceivable motive for the mass of these changes, except the subjective feeling of the repeater or reciter of the second form. Of course this does not exclude the possibility of an occasional imitation of a related expression which has come to the mind of the repeater. But it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that independent changes of the repeater's mood are, in the main, and in varying degrees, at the bottom of this unbridled variety, tho such an assumption is, in the circumstances, the purest kind of argument in a circle. In any case the frequency of these changes testifies eloquently to that genuine instability in the use of moods which characterizes Hindu speech at least up to the time of the modern vernaculars. And because they concern all moods, the following pages are a kind of negative syntax of the ancient Sanskrit moods. Needless to say, the conditions described in this chapter happen to be unparalleled in the history of recorded literature and speech. A preliminary selection from them was published by Bloomfield in *AJP* 33 1 ff.

§89 The interest of these interchanges is greatly enhanced by the uncommonly large formal apparatus for expressing mood which is at the disposal of the Vedic language. This apparatus is considerably larger than that of Classical Sanskrit, and, we believe, than that of any other Indo-European language. The following forms carry with them modal value, under circumstances to be dealt with in detail later on, in various ways and various degrees they interchange with one another.

1 Present Indicative

2 Various Preterite Indicatives, notably Aorist, also predicative Past Passive Participles

3 Imperative (including those in *tāt*)

4. Imperativ forms in *si* and (?) *se*
- 5 Subjunctive
- 6 Mixed Imperative-Subjunctive forms
- 7 Injunctive
- 8 Optative
- 9 Precative
- 10 Future
11. Desiderative
- 12 Infinitive

The rôle of the last two of these twelve classes is unimportant and, as regards strict modal quality, somewhat dubious. This still leaves ten modal categories whose interrelations are the theme of the following pages.

§90 Before entering upon a detailed discussion of the modal interchanges as between two or more different texts, there are three preliminary matters which substantiate this instability, and lend atmosphere to the subject as a whole. First, one and the same text sometimes varies its mood in what may be regarded as a repetition of the same passage. Secondly, the interchanges in different texts sometimes, and not rarely, bring in three or even more different moods. Thirdly, change of tense goes along with change of mood without, again, affecting the resulting meaning. Related with the last class are the numerous cases in which different tense-forms of the same mood interchange, again without the least indication of difference in function, see §§208 ff.

Interchange of moods in passages repeated in the same text

§91. Any single Vedic text is likely to show iteration on an extensive scale (cf. Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 31. 49 ff). In these repeated passages the mood may be changed, either, apparently, for no other than subjective reason, or because of some external circumstance provoked by the technique of the text in question. Thus the RV.

ādityair no adītiḥ śarma yansat 1. 107 2, 4 54 6,

ādityair no adītiḥ śarma yachatu 10 66 3,

'Aditi, together with the Ādityas, shall offer us protection' *yansat* is aorist subjunctive, *yachatu* present imperative, of the same relation between RV 10 128 8a and AV. 5 3 8a, and see §106 for the frequent interchange between the stems *yacha* and *yañs* in general. The motive of the variation is metrical. The first verse is *triṣṭubh*, the second *jagadī*. To see any other reason for the change would be sheer hair-splitting, one sentence says exactly the same as the other.

§92 The same criterion governs the choice of *kṛdh*, aorist imperative, and *kah*, aorist injunctive in the two RV. pādas:

asmabhyam indra varivah sugam kṛdh 1 102 4,

asmabhyam mahi varivah sugam kah 6 44 18

See *RVRep.* 530.—Also in the following, both in KS

vācaspatir vācam nah svadatu 15 11,

vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti nah 13 14

The first phrase is prose, the second receives a *jagatī* cadence See §104, p

§93 Only in a partial or one-sided way, if at all, can metrical convenience be assigned as a ground for the following variation

suvedā no vasū kṛdh RV 7 32 25,

suvedā no vasū karat RV 6 48 15

‘Make (let him make) wealth easy for us to get’ *kṛdh* is aor impv., *karat* aor subj, there is no reason why the poet of 7 32 25 should not have used *karah* to match *karat*, but as to 6 48 15 it may be observed that the meter would oppose the use of the aor impv **kartu*, mixed aor subj-impv *karatu*, or pres impv. *kṛnotu* or *karotu*

§94 In passages repeated in the same vicinity, we find modal variations which appear to be due simply to the stylistic urge for variety, the change is for its own sake This is prettily illustrated in the following RV. instance

jeṣah svarvaṭir apah 1 10. 8c,

jeṣat svarvaṭir apah 8 40 10,

ajauh svarvaṭir apah 8 40 11.

‘Thou shalt conquer (hast conquered, he shall conquer) the waters rich in light’ In 8 40 10 we have a secondary repetition with change of person of 1 10 8c, in the next verse this is deliberately modulated by substitution of the aor indic for subj See *RVRep* 39—Similarly,

gyok pitṛṣv āstām AV 1 14 1, ‘long may she sit among the fathers’, is modulated in vs 3 of the same hymn to

gyok pitṛṣv āsātai,

with subj for impv, which means exactly the same thing, it may also have been felt as improving the meter

Here may likewise be recorded *abhi prayo nāsatyā vahanti* (6 63 7 **tu*) RV 1 118 4, 6 63 7 For in pāda a of 1 118 4 occurs the form *vahantu*, and it seems fairly clear that the following *vahanti* is a sort of stylistic dissimulation, and is secondary to *vahantu* of 6 63 7. See *RVRep* 124

AV 11 10 14a *sarve devā atyāyanti* is repeated in the next verse,

15a, with *atyāyantu*, again, apparently, the change is for stylistic variety

§95 Possibly of the same order may be the reason for the change in *svadhvarā kṛnuhī jātavedāh* RV. 3 6 6, 7 17. 3,

svadhvarā karati jātavedāh RV 6 10 1, 7 17. 4;

'Prepare, O Jātavedas (let J prepare) effective sacrifices!' (Cf other forms of the same pāda in other texts, §154) If we assume that the variation originated in 7. 17 3 and 4, the desire for variety may be sufficient to account for it; we can, at any rate, see no other reason *kṛnuhī* is pres impv., *karati* aor subj. The 3d person subj forms are just as good imperatives as true imperative forms. Consider the 3d person mixed subj -impv forms treated below, §173, and let us remember that the so-called 1st person imperatives are really subjunctives. In view of these facts, and of the enormous number of interchanges between the two moods (below, §§151ff), we may confidently say that there is no real difference between subjunctive and imperative in the mantras, at least as far as principal clauses go.¹¹

§96 In the next, a RV repetition,

jyok paśyema sūryam uccarantam 10 59 6,

jyok paśyāt sūryam uccarantam 4 25 4,

'Long may we (he) behold the rising sun', the variation between trissyllabic and dissyllabic verb-forms goes hand in hand with dissyllabic and trissyllabic pronunciation of *sūryam* (*sūriam*). Since *sūria-* is commoner in RV, we may perhaps assume that *paśyema* is secondary. But it must be observed that this has no apparent bearing on the question of moods, since the subj *paśyāma* would do just as well in 10 59 6, and the opt *paśyet* in 4 25 4.

§97 In AV 6 122 5, 11 1 27 *indro marutvān sa dadātu tan me* (11. 1 27 *dadād idam me*), 'Indra with the Maruts, may he give that to me!', a slight and apparently unnecessary change between *tad* and *idam* goes along with, and either causes or is caused by, the exchange between impv and injunctive (? subjunctive, from stem *dada-*). Again, AV 19 50 7 has the metrically correct couplet *uṣā no ahna ā bhajād, ahas tubhyam vibhāvati*, 'may the dawn commit us to the day, the day to thee, O shining one'. For the sake of a slight and unnecessary lexical alteration AV 19 48. 2 varies the mood and violates the meter *uṣā no ahne pari dadātu, ahas tubhyam vibhāvati*. The meaning is the same.

¹¹ The chief distinction between the two moods appears to be the exclusion of the 2d person imperative from dependent (except prohibitive) sentences. Cf RV. 8 103 14 *mādayasva svanare*, 'delight thyself with (chez) Svarnara', but 8 65 2 *yad mādayāse svanare*, 'when thou mayest delight thyself' etc.

RV. 10 35 13 *viśve no devā avasā gamantu*, 'may all the gods come hither with help for us', is changed in 1. 89. 7 to *viśve no devā avasā gamann iha*. The patch-word *iha* helps the substituted subj. *gaman* (instead of mixed impv.-subj *gamantu*) to make a *jagatī* pāda out of a *triṣṭubh*.

AV. 7 60 7 *viśvā rūpāni puṣyata*, 'prosper ye in all forms', is adapted to the cosmogonic Rohita in 13 2 10 *viśvā rūpāni puṣyasi*, 'thou prosperest in all forms'. The Ppp in the latter passage has *prajāḥ sarvā v paśyasi*, 'thou beholdest every way all creatures', a more appropriate saying for the solar Rohita, and probably the original one; the Śaunaka version has mechanically imitated 7 60 7 which floated thru the mind of its redactor.

§98. Metrical convenience may again be held to account for the subj-opt interchange in RV. 7 66 16 *jīvema śaradaḥ śalam*, appearing secondarily with change of person in 10 85 39 as *jīvāh* etc. For the opt 3d sing *jīvet* would not fit the meter. It is interesting to note that this pāda, RV 10 85 39, is repeated in ApMB. 1. 5 2 with change of *jīvāh* to the hybrid subj-impv *jīvātu*, showing the tense sympathy between subj and impv. in the third person, alluded to above.

§99 In one RV repetition there is no other than the resulting metrical difference between a pres subj and an aor. indic.

yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā, ubhe bhayete rajasī apāre 4. 42 6, 'When the soma libations and the songs of praise incite me, both boundless hemispheres (heaven and earth) are afright.'

purā sahasrā nī śīśāni dāśuṣe, yan mā somāsa ukthino amandīṣuḥ 10 48 4

We may of course render the aor of this passage. 'Many thousands do I secure for my worshiper when the soma libations accompanied by songs of praise have incited me.' But in truth the aor is here just as modal as the subj, it is the so-called prophetic aorist which states a wish as an accomplished fact. See §127 below.

§100 Again, the imperative in *tāl* (Whitney, *Grammar* §571; Delbrück, *AltSyntax* §207, Speyer, *Ved. Skt. Synt.* §188, n 1) fails to differentiate itself modally from the ordinary pres impv. in two RV parallels.

pra no yachatād avrkam prthu chardih 1 48 15,

prāsmar yachatam avrkam prthu chardih 8 9. 1,

'Do thou furnish us (do ye two furnish him) broad protection against enemies' (Cf further RV 8 27 4, *yanā no avrkam chardih*, with a yet different mood). The difference is at most chronological, *yachatād* may be a more archaic form, and it occurs in an older part of RV., see

Oldenberg, *Proleg* 262, and *RVRep* 82 Thus we may account for the variation between *kṛdhi* and *kuru* in ŚŚ *tato no abhayam kṛdhi* 3 20 2 and *kuru* 13 2 2 Here the mood is the same, but the archaic aor impv (inherited from RV and kept in nearly all of the numerous reproductions of the *pāda* in other texts, see §210, a) is replaced by the commonplace pres impv *kuru*

§101 We can conceive no reason for the variation between impv and precative in the following formula, both forms of which are found in KS *durmitrās tasmai santu* (38 5 *bhūyāsur*) *yo 'smān dveṣti* 3 8, 38 5, 'may they be hostile to him who hates us'

Instances of more than two modal varieties in the same passage

§102 In quite a number of cases more than two moods, usually three, but occasionally even more than three, interchange in different versions of one and the same passage These are of special interest because they show in a superior degree that the modal distinctions are the reverse of sharp The cases here listed are not repeated below under the heads of the much more numerous interchanges between two moods, they may be added there without any great inconvenience

§103 In the formulaic prayer which says 'may I (thou, we, or he) live a hundred autumns', there is a confluence of almost all modal varieties subj *jīvāhi*, impv *jīva*, mixed impv-subj *jīvātu*, opt *jīvema*, subj (or impv) 1st pers. *jīvāmi* and *jīvāva*, and, finally, present indic *jīvāmi* Their citations may easily be found in the Vedic Concordance, see e.g. *jīvāhi śaradah śatam* And compare with these the closely related *triṣṭubh* *pāda*, *śatam jīvantu* (*jīvantah*, *jīvema*, *jīvāmi*, *ca jīva*) *śaradah purūcāh* (*suvarcāh*), 'may they (we, I, thou) live a hundred numerous autumns' or 'a hundred autumns being in possession of glory'

§104 In the majority of the following list of multiple modal interchanges, one or more indicatives figure often along with one or more of the oblique moods, cf §§112ff and 127ff These are followed by cases in which at least three non-indicative forms vary with each other In the first not less than four moods are found (five if we count the mixed subj-impv).

(a) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, Subjunctive-Imperative, Imperative, and Precative

ito muhṣṣya māmūtah (ApŚ *mā pateh*) VS ŚB ApŚ *preto muñcāmi* (AG ŚG SMB MG *muñcātu*, PG † *muñcatu*; ApMB *muñcāti*) *nāmūtah* (ŚG MG SMB † *māmūtah*, PG *mā pateh*) RV AV AG. ŚG SMB PG ApMB MG 'Hence, and not thence (not from my, or

her, husband) may I be loosened (I loosen, let him loosen, etc.)' Cf. in Conc *mṛtyor mukṣīya māmṛtāt* (*mā patyuh*). See §312

(b) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive:

praptāmahān bibharti pinvamānah (TA † °maham bibharat pinvamāne) AV 'TA : sarge loke pinvamāno bibhartu ApŚ 'It supports (shall support) our great-grandfathers, swelling' or the like

sā nah payasvatī duhām (TS PG *dhukṣva*; MS SMB. *duhā*, followed by vowel, but SMB once, 2 2 1c, *duhām* acc. to Jorgensen, and so v. 1 of MS.; MS p p *duhe*) RV. AV. TS MS KS SMB. PG 'Rich in milk she yields (yield thou, let her yield) to us' The MS and SMB readings are doubtful

yajñasyāyur anu sam caranti (AŚ *tarantu*) TA AŚ · *yajñāyur anu sam carān* TB. ApŚ 'Let them (they do) follow along the life of the sacrifice!'

kṣeme tīṣṭhātī (ŚG *tīṣṭha*, PG *tīṣṭhatu*, HG *tīṣṭhatī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamānā* AV ŚG PG HG. 'May it, dripping ghee, stand (or, it stands , stand thou) in security.'

(c) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, and Optative:

teṣv (ŚG. *anyeṣv*, read *yeṣv* with Oldenberg, *ISl* 15 73, note) *aham sumanāḥ sam vīśāmi* (AŚ °nī [text, °ti], MG. *vaśāma*, ŚG. *vīśeyam*) AŚ ApŚ ŚG. HG ApMB. MG. (see Knauer's note on, MG 1. 14 6). '(May) I (we) in this house live happily' or the like

(d) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Precative.

sūrya bhrāṇīṣṭha bhrāṇīṣṭhas (with variants) *tvam* (MS adds *varcasvān*) *deveṣv asī* (MS. *edhā*, TS *deveṣu bhūyāh*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB ŚŚ. 'O brilliant sun, thou art (be thou) brilliant among the gods'

arīṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmi (ApMB. *kṛnomi*) RV. ApMB · *arīṣṭām mā saha patyā dadhātu* KŚ MŚ MG.: *arīṣṭāham saha patyā bhūyāsam* VS 'I make thee (he shall make me; may I be) free from harm, with thy (my) husband'

(e) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Future:

yāvatīnām idam karomi (ŚG. *karīṣyāmi*) *bhūyaśīnām uttarām* (ŚG. °mām) *saṁām kṛyāsam* MS. MŚ. ŚG.: *yāvatīnām-yāvatīnām va aīṣāmo lakṣānam akārīṣam bhūyaśīnām-bhūyaśīnām va uttarām-uttarām saṁām kṛyāsam* SMB †

(f) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Imperative.

vācaspathi somam apāt MS TA ŚŚ.: *pībatu* TA ŚŚ · *pībati* TA All in same context. 'The lord of speech has drunk (drinks, shall drink) the soma.'

sugā (TS ApŚ. *svagā*) *vo devāḥ sadanā* (TS N. °nam) *akarma* (MS

kṛnomi, KŚ ApŚ Kauś *sadanāni santu*, KS *sadanedam astu*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ Kauś N 'We have made (I make, let be) your seats easy of access for you, O gods'

(g) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Precative

nir (KS *nir druho nir*, VS ŚB *svāhā nir*) *varunasya pāsān mucye* (KS *mukṣīya*, MS. *pāsād amukṣi*) VS MS KS ŚB 'I am (have been, may I be) released from Varuna's fetter'

(h) Present Indicative, Perfect Indicative, and Subjunctive

salakṣmā (MS KS °ma) *yad vṣurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB °pam) *bhavāti* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *vṣurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavātha* TS 'That whoso (what) is like should be different' or the like See §330, end

varuneti śapāmahe (MS † °hai, AV *yad ūcima*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

(i) Imperfect Indicative (or Injunctive), Perfect Indicative, and Imperative

kāmam (AV PB *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā viśa* (AV *viveśa*, KS PB *viśat*) AV KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ 'Desire hath entered (shall enter) the ocean', or, 'enter into the ocean desire'

(k) Imperfect Indicative, Perfect Indicative, and Perfect Optative

ny anyā arkam abhūto vviśrē (AV 'vīśanta, JB *vviśyuh*) RV AV JB ŚB AA 'Others settled (may settle) about the sun'

(l) Imperfect Indicative, Imperative, and Injunctive

havyā te svadantām (MS *svadan*, KS *asvadan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB But *svadan* may be imperfect, like *asvadan*, see §8

(m) Aorist Indicative, Injunctive, and Imperative (Subjunctive-Imperative)

aparitu mṛtyur amṛtam na āgan (PG *āgāt*) TB TAA ApŚ PG HG *parantu mṛtyur amṛtam na aitu* (ŚŚ SMB *amṛtam ma ā gāt*) AV ŚŚ SMB 'Let death depart, immortality hath (shall) come to us (me)'

As between *āgāt* and *ā gāt* the mss are, of course, indeterminate

akṣan, *aghat(iam)*, *aghan*, *aghasan*, °sat, *aghasām iam*, *ghasat*, *ghasan*, *ghastu*, and *ghasantu* see Conc under each word All mean 'he has (they have) eaten' or 'shall eat'

(n) Aorist Indicative, Imperative, and Future

subhūtakṛtah subhūtam nah kṛnuta ŚŚ *suhutakṛtah stha suhutam karṣyatha* (and, *akārṣta*) AŚ

(o) Perfect Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive

madhu tvā (AV *me*) *madhulā karotu* (AV *kacrah*, RV *cakāra*, MS *kṛnotu*) RV AV MS TA ApŚ 'May it, honeyed, make thee honey', 'it, honeyed, has made etc', 'do thou, honeyed, make honey for me'

(p) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Subjunctive-Imperative.

vācaspatir no adya vāyam svadatu VSK · *vācaspatir vācam* (VS ŚB.† also *vāyam*) *nah svadatu* (TS KS.* *vācam adya svadātu nah*, TB . *svadātu te* [but Poona ed *nah*], MS *svadātu nah*) VS TS MS KS. (bis) ŚB TB SMB 'May the Lord of Speech sweeten our (thy) speech (food).'

svadantu havyam madhunā ghṛtena RV AV. VS MS. KS TB N. *svadātu* (MS °tu) *havyam* (VS KS *yajñam*) *madhunā ghṛtena* VS MS. KS TB

agniṣ tān (AŚ *tāl*, for *tān*) *lokāt pra nudāty* (AŚ *nudātu*, SMB *nudatu*) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ SMB *agniṣ* (ApŚ *agne*) *tān asmāt pra nunoitu* (ApŚ *nudasva*) *lokāt* (AV *pra dhamāti yajñāt*) AV ApŚ MŚ 'May Agni (O Agni) drive them away from this world'

(q) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Injunctive:

viśvā †deva pṛtanā abhiṣya TB ApŚ HG : *viśvāś ca deva* (PG *devah*) *pṛtanā abhiṣyāh* (PG † °syak) KS PG 'O god (let the god) annihilate all the hosts' On *abhiṣyak* see §337, end

mandūkyā su sam gamah (Conc *gama*, by error, TA *gamaya*) RV. TA *mandūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV.

(r) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Optative.

mahyam id vaśam ā nayāt ApMB *mahyam punar udājatu* HG . *mahyam muktavāihdnyam ānayet* PG

(s) Imperative, Imperative in *tāl*, and Subjunctive:

elam jānātha (KS *jānāta*, TB *jānātāt*) *parame vyoman* VS. KS. ŚB. TB *jānāta smainam* (TS. MŚ *jānātād enam*) *parame vyoman* AV. TS. MŚ 'Acknowledge him in the highest heaven' Cf. *tam sma jānāta* (VSK °tha) *parame vyoman* AV. VS VSK TS KS ŚB MŚ, which introduces also the present indicative, if we may trust the VSK. reading

(t) Imperative, Imperative in *tāl*, and Optative

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmṛājyam gacha* (VSK. *gachatāt*; MŚ *gachet*) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ 'Arrive (may he arrive) at the sovereignty of the meters' names', or the like

deveṣu nah sukrto (VSK. *mā sukrītam*) *brūtāt* (KS *brūta*, PB. MŚ. *brūyāt*) VSK TS KS · PB MŚ *devebhyo mā sukrītam brūtāt* (ŚB with ūha, voceh) VS ŚB · *sukrītam mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS A 3d person form is impossible here, PB comm reads *brūtāt*, and probably MŚ should be read so too 'Declare us (me) righteous among (to) the gods.'

(u) Imperative, Optative, and Precative

lasya na ṛlasya pṛlasya dravnehāgameh VS 'Wealth of this en-

joyed sacrifice, come here to us!'. *lasya mā yaññasyeṣṭasya vīlasya dravnehāgamyāt* MS (see §332) *lasya meṣṭasya vīlasya dravnam ā gamyāt* (KS *dravnehāgamyāh*, ApŚ *dravnehāgameh*) TS. KS ApŚ. *lasya yaññasyeṣṭasya svīṣṭasya dravnam māgachatu* KS (so read in both 5 4 and 32 4, with ms at 32 4, v. Schroeder wrongly emends to *dravnam āga*°).

pari no hetī rudrasya vṛjyāh (VSK °yāt) RV VSK : *pari no rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu* TS KS · *pari no rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu* VS MS 'May Rudra's missile avoid us' Cf *pari vo rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu* AV. KS, and *pari vo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāh* (TB *vṛñjyāt*) RV TB See *RVRep.* 573, where the pāda *pari tvā* etc, and the Concordance reference thereto, are to be deleted, add KS 30 10 under *pari vo rudrasya* etc.

(v) Imperative, Injunctive, and Optative

sarvam āyur geṣam (AV *aṣṭya*, TA *ayāni*, ŚB *ihi*) AV. KS. TB. ŚB TA ApŚ. Cf *sa*° *ā*° *asi* TB ApŚ

(w) Imperative, Precative, and Past Passive Participle

apahato 'raruk prthivya (also, °vyā *adevayajanah*, and, °vyar *devayajanyai*) TS ApŚ. *apārarum adevayajanam prthivyā devayajanā* (ApŚ *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ.. *apārarum prthivyar devayajanād badhyāsam* VS ŚB 'Driven away is (drive away, I would drive away) Araru from the earth' etc.

(x) Subjunctive, Injunctive, and Optative

anu (MS erroneously, *nu*, KB ŚŚ *upa*) *vām jīhvā ghṛtam ā caranyat* MS KS KB ŚŚ *prati te jīhvā ghṛtam uc caranyat* (TS °yet) VS. TS. MS KS ŚB : *prati vām jīhvā ghṛtam uc* (AV. TS † also, ā) *caranyat* (AV. °yāt, TS °yet) AV TS MS KS KB AŚ ŚŚ 'May your tongue move up to meet the ghee', or the like

kṣetrasya patnī adhī no bruvāthah (TS *brūyātam*, KS. *adhī vocatam nah*) TS MS KS 'Ye two mistresses of the field, bless us!' On the meaning of *adhī-vac* and *adhī-brū*, see Gehman, *JAOS* 36 213 ff

yad adya hotṛvarye (ŚŚ °vurye), *jihmam cakṣuh parāpatat* (ŚŚ °lāt), *agnis tat punar ābharāt* (ApŚ † °rat, ŚB. *ābhryāt*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ. 'That which, at the choice of the *hotṛ*, may escape the crooked (faulty) eye, that may Agni bring back here'

(y) Optative, Precative, and Future

cārum adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam ApŚ *madhumatīm* (ŚŚ °īm *adya*) *devebhyo vācam udyāsam* (ŚŚ *vācam vadīṣyāmi*) TS. TA. ŚŚ · *madhumatīm vācam udeyam* AV · *indriyāvaṣīm adyāham vācam udyāsam*, ApŚ 'May I (I shall) speak (today) honeyed (sweet) speech (to the gods)'

Change of tense

§105. According to a familiar fact of Vedic grammar the mood of any so-called tense has precisely the same value as the corresponding mood of any other tense, or, stated conversely, the moods may avail themselves indifferently of the so-called tenses to express what appears to our feeling as impenetrably undifferentiated modal value. This type of interchange belongs as well to the section on tenses, and is treated there in so far as forms are concerned which are identical in mood but different in tense (§§208ff). E.g., as between *vinda*, present imperative, and *vida*, aorist imperative, there is no difference whatever in the historic period of the language. Now this element of formal tense-difference appears frequently along with modal variation. That is to say, along with a change, say, from imperative to subjunctive, there is also a change from present to aorist, or some other tense change. These interchanges, tho they are necessarily negative on the side of tense, enhance still further the sense of the instability of modal interchange. Many pairs of this sort occur in the preceding and following lists, and can easily be gathered from them. But we have, in addition, separated the modal interchanges that are accompanied by tense interchanges, wherever the groups were large enough to make such a subdivision desirable. Thus, in the case of interchanges between Imperative and Subjunctive (§§151ff), and between Imperative and Injunctive (§§155ff).

§106. A number of these combined mood and tense changes will be found quite standard and typical. Thus, to illustrate the crossing of tense and mood in a few roots we may write out in full the following variants:

Present stem *yacha*- aorist stem *yans*-
ādityair no aditih śarma yansat (and, *yachatu*) RV (both)
mātevāsmā adite śarma yacha (ŚG *aditih śarma yansat*) AV. TS MS.
 KS TB TA ŚG ApMB
uruyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat (AV *yachatu*) RV AV TS. KS
sa (AV. *sā*) *nah śarma trivarūtham v yansat* (AV. *ni yachāt*) RV. AV.
 MS KS TB ApŚ Here both are subjunctives

§107. More variegated are the correspondences of present imperatives of root *bhū* (occasionally also *as*) with combinations of other moods and tenses from *bhū*. The phonetic element that enters into the interchange between *av* and *uv* in several of these cases has been discussed above, §23.

uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV. SV VS TS MS KS
 ŚB Kauś

sammislo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuvah*) RV SV.

samprīyah paśubhir bhava (TS ApŚ *bhuvat*) MS TB ApŚ *samprīyam prajāyā paśubhir bhuvat* TA

twam bhavādhipatir (AV *bhūr abhihūtir*) *janānām* AV. MS KS

śam astu tanve mama AV.. *śam v astu tanvaz tāva* VS *śam u te tanve* (TS *tanuve*) *bhuvat* TS. KSA

[*svāveṣo anamīvā bhavā nah*, the Conc. quotation *bhuvā* for *bhavā* in ApMB is to be deleted]

§108 More briefly we find interchange in the root *kṛ*, 'make', aor subj *karatī* pres impv *kṛnotu* (§154), aor subj *karah.* pres impv *kṛnotu* (and perf ind *cakāra*, §104, o), aor impv. *kṛāhi* and aor. subj *karat* pres impv *kṛnu* (§154). From *dā* 'give' and *dhā* 'place', aor inj *dāh* and *dhāh.* pres impv. *dehi* and *dhehi*, and *dhāh* *dadhātu* (§158), also *dhatta*, *datta* *dāta*, and *dattām* *dātām*, and *dhattā* *dhāntu* (§198) From *j* 'conquer', *jayata* *jeṣatha* (aor subj, §154), and *jayema* *jeṣma* (§174). From *gam* and *gā* 'go', *gamema* *geṣma*, and *gan* *gamet* (§174), each pair in this case consisting of different aorist stems From *nī* 'lead', *ninetu* *neṣat* (§154). From *pā* 'protect', *pātu* *pāsati* (§154). From *naś* 'perish', *naśyatu* *neṣat* (§158) From *vd* 'obtain', *vindatu* *vidat* (*ibidem*) and *vidanta* *vindantu* (§159). From *sthā* 'stand', *tiṣṭha* *sthāt* (§158) From *kram* 'stride', *krāma*. *krāmih* (§159)

§109. There are also cases in which the indicative of one tense interchanges with an oblique mood of another tense Thus from *mad* 'rejoice', *mamadan* (pres subj) *amandīṣuh* (aor ind §145, a), from *van* 'win', *vanute*, *vansate*, and *vanate* (§117), from *man* 'think', *manve* *manaz* (aor. subj, §119)

Of course the interchange of Precative (aorist Optative) and other moods commonly also involves change of tense; for examples, see §161.

SYSTEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF MODAL INTERCHANGES

§110 We turn now to a systematic account of the modal variations. As far as we can observe, the texts of different schools show no constitutional preference for any one mood as against any other On the contrary, they all seem to show complete indifference of choice between them all It is possible, of course, when a text substitutes e.g. imperative for subjunctive or precative for optative, that it approaches the passage from a slightly altered direction, or with a different quality of emotion But it is commonly the same passage, in the same connection, uttered in the midst of the same real properties At least the variants show a very strong tendency to regard the moods as interchangeable

A good deal depends on the frequency of these interchanges; the more common they are, the greater the chance that they imply indifference to modal distinction, and nothing more. We may remember the numerous cases of interchange between active and middle voices, also for the most part bare of real distinction, which we have presented above.

§111. We shall deal with the moods in the order stated above. The passages in each class involve interchange between two moods only; these may be reinforced here and there from the groups involving more than two modal varieties (above, §104), which are not repeated here.

I PRESENT INDICATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§112. This is the most frequent interchange. It includes nearly 300 cases, distributed rather unevenly between imperative, subjunctive, injunctive, and optative. It is in the main temperamental, rather than logical; philological, rather than grammatical. The Vedic mantras deal almost entirely with the praise of gods; with efforts to coax them into good humor and generosity; and with all sorts of magic or horuspocus that is supposed to fulfil wishes. In such an atmosphere the indicative, tho by nature a *modus rectus*, is in truth a sort of *modus obliquus* (*subjunctivus*), almost everything that is stated categorically is meant modally. The indicative states things as certain; as a matter of fact these things are merely wished for, hoped for, requested, or importunately insisted upon. So, e.g., to illustrate by one of the keenest desires in every stratum of the Veda, the desire for *dakṣiṇā* (baksheesh). A poet-priest states, apparently with serene confidence, therefore in the present, that a certain god is clever (*prajānan*) in making even the stingy man give gifts to the priests:

aditsantam dāpayati prajānan VS KS. ŚB, 'he cleverly makes the stingy man give. But in truth the poet is whistling in the woods. What is really meant is, that he wishes, hopes, or requests that the god may, shall, or should do so. Accordingly three other texts read impv. *dāpayatu*, 'let him make to give', for the ind *dāpayati*, 'makes to give':

aditsantam (AV. *utādīṣa*) *dāpayatu prajānan* AV. TS MS

Here we find no means for deciding which reading is the better or older. —If this were a question of logic or grammar, and not of temperament or manner of speaking, we might enrich the vocabulary of grammatical terminology by yet one more item, 'hortative indicative'.

§113. The hortative indicative is on the whole perhaps the commonest modal expression in the Veda. Its real interest for grammar is that it

varies impartially with pretty much all the oblique moods, showing indirectly that this most generalized kind of wish harbors no modal precision

§114 We present first the variants which concern principal clauses, divided according to the moods that vary with the present indicative. Afterwards are listed a considerable number of cases concerning dependent (chiefly relative) clauses, the principles at the bottom of both groups are, for the most part, much the same

Present Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

§115 This is by far the most frequent of these interchanges. The first persons of the imperative are really subjunctives. They involve peculiar conditions as far as the older language is concerned, we may reserve them for the next section. As for the other two persons, their readiness to take the place of the indicative calls to mind the fact that thruout Sanskrit literature the *impv* is in a marked degree a mood of wish as well as command, as when, in contrast with Latin *vivat crescat floreat*, Sanskrit uses the imperative, *jayatu rājā*, or, often, the present indicative, which is equally frequent in the drama (e.g. *jayati jayati devah*, Śakuntala, ed. Pischel, *HOS* 16 v 9 2), thus showing that the 'hortative indicative' is by no means limited to the Vedic language. The passive imperative is a favorite means of expressing polite request. Speyer, *Ved u Skt Syntax* §192. The sequel will show that the *impv* encroaches upon the other wish-moods to a larger extent than might be expected in a mood of command. Cf. Whitney, *Gram.* §§572, 575, Delbruck, *AltSynt* 361, Speyer, *op cit* §§188, 192.

§116 Here belong, first of all, the dozen cases of interchange between the 2d plural endings *ta* and *tha* which have been considered previously from the phonetic point of view (§§14-19). They are not repeated here. The long list of the rest is as follows:

kṣatrānām kṣatrapatir asī (VS ŚB KŚ *edhī*) VS TS ŚB TB KŚ
ApŚ 'Thou art (be thou) sovereign lord of sovereignties' Prayer
for a king at his coronation

syonā cāsi suṣadā cāsi VS ŚB 'pleasant art thou and a fair seat',
syonā ca me suṣadā cādhī TB ApŚ 'bc thou pleasant to me and
a fair seat' Addressed to earth

[*prsthena dyāvāprthivī* (MS adds *āprna*)] *antarikṣam ca m bādhase* (MS
bādhasva, TS *bādhatām*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB 'With thy (its)
back thou sunderest (sunder thou, let it sunder) heaven and earth
and the atmosphere', or the like. Address to one of the altar-
bricks

ā rohatho (TS. VS. ŚB rohatam) varuna mitra gartam RV. VS TS MS.
KS ŚB N.

(jātvādasam) adhvarānām janayathah (KS MŚ. °yatam) purogām
KS TB. ApŚ MŚ. To the fire-sticks: 'Ye beget (beget ye)
(Agni) as leading-steer of sacrifices'

abhi prayo nāsatyā vahanti (and, °tu) RV. (both). See §94

somo vīram karmanyam dadāti (TB. °tu) RV. VS MS TB.

viśvam hī (KS. ha) rīpram pravahanti (MS. °tu) devīh RV. AV. VS. MS.

KS Cf. viśvam asmat pra vahantu rīpram TS.

dhanuk śatror apakāmam kṛnoti (MS. °tu) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N.

'The bow brings (shall bring) sorrow to the enemy.'

ā devo yātu (MS. MG. yāti) santā suratnah RV. MS. KS AB. KB ŚB.
TB. MG. AŚ. ŚŚ.

edhante asyā jñālayah RV. AV. ApMB. edhantām jñālayo 'mama
SMB. PG. HG. MG. Both in wedding rites: '(let) her (my)
relations thrive'

viśvā rūpāṇi puṣyala (and, puṣyasi) AV (both). See §97.

ekā satī bahudhoṣo vy uhasi (MS. KS ucha) TS. MS. KS PG. The
stanza is otherwise triṣṭubh; uhasi is thus inconsistent metrically.
'The single, O Uṣas, shine (thou shonest) forth in many places.'

bhūte haviṣmaty asī (AV. °maḥ bhava) AV. TS TB.

prīyo me hṛdo (MŚ huto, v. 1 huto) 'sī (MŚ.† bhava) TS MŚ.

agnaye tvā mahājam varuno dadātu (MS. °ti) VS MS. ŚB ŚŚ —The same
with bṛhaspataye, yamāya, rudrāya.

tasmin devā amṛtā mādayantām (RV. °te) RV. AV. TA

tiṣṭhantu hatavarcasah AV. 'let them stop still, their glory shattered';

tiṣṭhanti hatavartmanah N. 'they stand still, their way blocked.'

tveṣas te dhūma rīvati (AV ūrnotu) RV. AV. SV LŚ MŚ. KŚ.

prāno yaḡñena kalpatām (MS MŚ °te) VS. TS MS. KS ŚB MŚ.

—The same with āyur, cakṣur, pṛsthā, brahmā, mano, yaḡñō,
vāg, śrotam, and svar.

ava bādhe pṛtanyatah (ApŚ °tā) MS ApŚ : avabādhasva pṛtanāyatah PG.

īndrena yuyā pra mṛñīla (TB. sayujā prāñītha, read with Poona ed.
pramṛñītha) śatrūn AV TB Comm. of TB. nṛākuruta (impv.).

gharmasyaikā savitārikām nī yachati (MS KS. °te, PG. °tu) TS. MS
KS. PG.

pīvasvatīr jīvadhanyāh pībantu (KSA °ti) RV. TS. KSA.

pra stomā yanty (SV yantv) agnaye RV. SV.

pra vām adhvaryuś carati prayasvān (AV. caratu payasvān) AV. AŚ ŚŚ.

pratīkṣante (ApMB. °lām) śvaśuro devaraś (ApMB.† śvaśruvo devaraś)
ca AV. ApMB

prati svasaram upa yāh (AV *yātu*) *pīlaye* RV. AV

prajānantah prati gr̥hanantu (TS KS ApŚ °ti) *pūrve* AV. TS KS ApŚ MS

yajñam hinvanty adribhiḥ RV *yajñāya santv adrayah* SV.

pūrnām vivaṣṭy (SV °tu) *āśicam* RV † 7 16 11b SV MS

pumānsam jātam abhi sam rabhantām (RV °te) RV KS TB ApŚ

punāhi te parisrutam RV. VS ŚB KŚ *punātu* etc TS MS KS TB ApŚ MS

brahma tena punāhi nah (LŚ mā, VS KS *punātu mā*, MS. TB *punīmahe*) RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ. *īdam brahma punīmahe* TB

agne dakṣarāh punāhi nah (TB mā; MS *punīmahe*) RV. MS TB

ā pyāyayantu (N °ti) *bhuvanasya gopāh* AV TS MS. KS ŚŚ N

sa vah sarvāh sam carat prajānan AV. *sarvah sarvā v caratu pra°* MS *śvāhsutyām* (MŚ *śadyahsutyām*) *indrāgnabhyām.. prabravīmi* (ApŚ

also, *prabrūtāt*) ApŚ (bis) MŚ KŚ *śvāhsutyām vā eṣām*

prabravīmi AŚ It seems that *prabrūtāt* is used as 1st person, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §571b, quoting *jāgrtāt* AV. 4. 5 7 as the 'only case' of *tāt* as 1st person.

ahāny asmai sudinā bhavanā (TB. °tu) RV TB

iṣam madantah pari gām nayadhvam (AV *nayāmah*) RV AV MG 'Reveling in foods, lead (we lead) the cow about'

astu hi śmā (TS MS KS *astu sma*) *te śuśminn avayāh* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'For here, O strong (Indra), is (shall be) thy conciliation'

On *avayāh* see Neisser, *Z Wbch d RV*, s v

api pūṣā nī śīdatu (AV. ŚŚ * °ti) AV ŚŚ (bis) LŚ SMB HG. *cha pūṣā nī śīdatu* PG. *rāyas poṣo nī°* ApŚ ApMB *vīras trātā nī°* AB

apah samudrād dvam ud vahanti (Kauś °tu) AV Kauś

indra tvad yantu (AŚ. ŚŚ *yanti*) *rālayah* SV AŚ ŚŚ

abhi (AV TB *upa*) *pra yantu* (TB AVPpp *yanti*) *naro agnirūpāh* RV. AV AVPpp TB N.

indrāpūṣnōh priyam apy eti (MS KSA *etu*) *pāthah* RV. VS TS MS KSA ŚŚ

iyam (AB adds *vai*) *pitryā* (AB AŚ ŚŚ *pitre*) *rāṣṭry etv* (AB. AŚ ŚŚ *ety*) *agre* AV AB GB. AŚ ŚŚ —AVPpp agree with AŚ ŚŚ

gharmam śrīnantu prathamāya dhāsyave (AŚ ŚŚ *śrīnanti prathamasya dhāseḥ*) AV AŚ ŚŚ

ulādūsanāntam dāpayatu prajānan AV *adūsanāntam dāpayati* (TS MS °tu) *prajānan* VS TS MS KS ŚB

ūrjo bhāgam prthivyā yāty (KS *prthivīm ety*, ApŚ °vīm *etu*) *āprnan* MS KS ApŚ

- etām sthūnām pularo dhārayantu (AV °tu) te RV AV TA.
 vṛṣānam yantu (MS yanti) janayāḥ supatnīḥ VS MS. KS TB.
 indrayaskārayasvāns tvam sahasvān deveṣv edhi MS : indrayasvinn
 ojasvī (VS ŚB indrayasīḥauṇṣ{has, VSK indrayasvann ojasvāns;
 AŚ. indra ṣodaśinn ojasvino, Vait [read] indra ṣodaśinn ojasvāns)
 tvam deveṣv aṣi VS VSK TS ŚB AŚ Vait
 tiro (RV VS ŚB AG antar) mṛtyum dadhatām (TA ApŚ *dadhmahe)
 parvatena RV AV VS ŚB TB TA ApŚ (bis) AG. ApMB
 'Let them block (we block, or hide, remove) death with a mountain'
 vi mīmīṣva payasvatīm ghṛtācīm AV · vi mime tvā payasvatīm devānām
 TB ApŚ.
 śṛnvanu (TS. ŚvetU °tu) vīśve amṛtasya putrāḥ (AV. amṛtāsa etat)
 RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU.
 śṛnvanu (PB °tu) āpo adhā (PB 'dhah) lṣaranāḥ RV PB.
 śṛta utsnāti (MŚ °tu) janitā matinām TB ApŚ. MŚ.
 sa no devaḥ śubhayā smṛtyā samyunaktu (MahānU. °ti) TA MahānU.
 vi (MS KS pra) parjanyaḥ (RV. °yam, TS. °yāḥ) sṛjanu (MS. KS.
 sṛjatām) rodasi anu RV TS MS KS
 sam āsvaparnāś carantu (MS. °tu; AV °parnāḥ patantu) no narah RV.
 AV VS TS MS KSA
 sa yajñīyo yajatu (AV °ti) yajñīyān rītūn RV AV
 sam no mahānu sam iṣo mahantām KS · teṣām iṣtān sam iṣā madanti
 RV VS. TS MS N. In the same verse
 sa virājam (KS °jā) pary eti (MS. eti; KS pari yāti) prajānan TS. MS
 KS Cf. sanemu rājā pari yāti vidvān VS ŚB.
 sa smā kṛnoti (ApŚ °tu) ketum ā RV ApŚ
 sinanti pākam ahi (ŚŚ † adhi) dhīra eti (ŚŚ emi) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ si-
 nantu sarve anṛtam vadantam AV.
 pātamānasya tvā stomena vīryenot sṛje MS pāvamānena tvā stomena
 vīryena devas tvā savitot sṛjatu (KS vīryenoddharāmy aśau)
 TS KS
 ketumad dundubhir vāvadith (AV °tu) RV AV. VS. TS MS KSA
 ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti (AŚ harito vahantu) TB. AŚ ApŚ :
 ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu KS.
 ghṛtasya dhārā madhumat pavante (AV °tām) RV AV VS KS ApŚ.
 āpo gr̥heṣu jāgrata HG āpo deveṣu jāgratha PG . āpo havīṣu jāgrta
 ApŚ . āpo jāgrta MS KS MŚ
 yamo dadāty (VS ŚB TA and v 1 of AV, see Whitney on 18 1 55,
 °tu) avasānam asmai RV AV VS ŚB TA · cf. adād idam yamo
 (VS KS ŚB adād yamo) 'vasānam prthivyāḥ VS TS. MS KS
 ŚB TB. Cf. Oldenberg, Proleg 311

tato dadāti (TB and v 1 of MS. °tu) *dāśuṣe vasūni* RV AV ArS MS TB.

tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (MS ŚB ŚŚ *vanutām*) TS MS ŚB. TB.

AŚ ŚŚ. But *vanate* may be aor subj, see §§154, 191

devo devān yajatu (ApŚ °ty) *agnir arhan* RV ApŚ

dhanvanā yanti (MS. KS *yantu*) *vṛṣṭayah* RV. TS MS KS

devo devānām pavitram asi TS MS KS · *devo devebhyah pavasva* VS. ŚB.

dhruve sadasi śidati (SV °tu) RV SV

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB ApŚ *juhomi*) VS VSK. MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

tasmai sūryāya sutam ā juhota (ApŚ *juhomi*) MS KS MŚ ApŚ

patho anaktu (AV. KS. °ti, TS *patha ānakti*) *madhvā'ghṛtena* AV VS TS. MS KS.

pātreva bhīndan sata eti (AV *etu*, v 1 *eti*) *rakṣasah* RV AV N

hrdā matim janaye (VS KS. TB °ya) *cārum agnaye* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ

pibanā (SV. °tu) *varunah kave* RV SV.

madhvā yajñam mimikṣatam (and, °ti) RV (both)

mayobhūr vāto abhū vātīstrāh (KSA *vāty usrāh*) RV TS KSA TB. ApŚ AG

mahyam vātah pavatām (KS. °te) *kāme asmin* (AV. *kāmāyāsmat*) RV AV. TS KS.

mitro nayatu (SV. °ti) *vidvān* RV SV AB GB.

yajño devānām praty eti (MS *etu*) *sumnam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB.

yuyo yuyante (MS *yuyāntu*) *karmabhūh* VS TS MS KSA

āpura stā mā pūrayata ŚŚ : *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata* TS AŚ ·

āpṛno 'si samprnah (ApŚ corruptly, *āpṛnoṣi samprna*) *prajayā mā paśubhir ā prna* ŚŚ ApŚ 'Thou art (ye are, be ye) filler(s), fill me up' etc

ṛtenāśya nivaritaye (MŚ °ya), *satyena parivaritaye* (MŚ °ya) TB ApŚ MŚ 'By his holy order do I (thou) return' etc

yamam ha yajño gachati (TA °tu) RV. AV TA

reto dadhātū (RV. °ty) *ośadhīṣu garbham* RV TB ApŚ

stṛṇanti (RV.* *stṛnāta*) *barkh ānuṣak* RV (both) SV VS MS KS ŚB. TB. ApŚ N

v *śloka etu* (AV *eti*; TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)

sūreh (AV *sūrah*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV VS TS

MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

sed agnir agnīnr aty astu (TB *ety*) *anyān* RV AB TB AŚ

anv enam viprā ṛṣaya madanti (KSA °tu) RV VS TS MS KSA
adha sma (MS smā) *te vrajanam kṛṣnam asti* (MS astu, KS vrajanam
 astu kṛṣnam) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB

adha pra ṛṣū na upa yanti (SV pra nūnam upa yanti) *dhīlayah* RV SV
ajṛnā tram jarayasi (MS KS jaraya) *sarvam anyat* TS MS KS. PG
 jarayasi is hypermetric 'unaging, thou makest (make thou) age
 every other thing' To Uṣas

agnis tad viśvam (AV mss viśvād, so read with SPP. and Whitney
 Transl) *āprnāti* (AV. °tu) *vidiān* RV. AV TS MS KS

le arṣantu le varṣantu L Ś · *le varṣanti le varṣayanti* AV

paramena paśunā kṛīyase (MS kṛīyasva) VS MS KS ŚB. Cf *tasyās*
le sahasrapaṣam puṣyanlyāś caramena paśunā kṛināmi TS

viśvasmai bhūlāyādhuvaro (KS MŚ °ya dhruva) *astu devāh* (TS °dhvara
 'st) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

aśvinā bhiṣajāvatah (MS °tam, TB † °ta) VS MS TB 'The Aśvins,
 physicians, do aid', or, 'O Aśvins (and Sarasvatī, TB), physicians,
 aid ye'

rahanāti (AŚ °tu) *pūrvyā ruhah* MS KS TA AŚ ŚŚ. Cf *tiṣṭhanti*
svāruha yathā TS

samā arṣanti (SV. °tu) *viṣnave* RV SV Cf *samo arṣati vi°* RV

athāsya madhyam ejaṭu (ŚŚ °tu) AŚ ŚŚ. LŚ.

(pari) *mahe kṣatrāya* (and, *śrātrāya*) *dhātana* AV. (pari .) *mahe*
rāṣṭrāya (and, *śrātrāya*) *dadhmaṣi* HG 'Wrap ye (we wrap) this
 man up unto great kingship (fame)'

kas tvā yunakhi sa tvā yunaktu (VS ŚB. °tu) VS TS KSA ŚB. TB.
 ApŚ

kas tvā vi muñcati sa tvā vimuñcati (KSA °tu) VS KSA ŚB

slenasyelyām anv ihi taskarasya (KS °lyām taskarasyānv ihi, TS °lyām
taskarasyānv eṣi) VS TS MS KS ŚB

snuṣā sapatnā (TB comm and Poona ed text, °nāh) *śvaśura 'yam astu*
 (AŚ *śvaśuro 'ham asmi*) TB AŚ Comm on TB, *yajamānasya*
sapatnāh śatravah snuṣāvat svādhiṇāh santu, ayam tu yajamānah
śvaśura 'stu śvaśuravat svāmī bhavatu (1)

layā mā sam sṛjāmasi HG. ApMB · *layā mān indra sam sṛja* RVKh
 See §304

ud ud vapatu (KS. °tu) *gām avim* AV KS MS *tad ud vapati ete* VS.
 ŚB *ud ut kṛṣati gām avim* TS

layā (ApMB. *lwayā*) *prattam svadhayā madantu* (ApMB °ti, v 1 °tu)
 ApMB HG

apa śatrān vidhyatām (MS *vidhyatah*) *samvidāne* RV VS TS MS
 KSA. N

traya enām mahimānah sacante (ŚG °lām) TS MS. KS ŚG ApMB
trisug (AŚ *trisrud*) *gharmo vi bhātu me* (KS *gharmas sadam in me*
vibhāti) KS TB TA AŚ *tsrbhur gharmo vibhāti* MS · *gharmas*
trisug vi rājate (ŚŚ *rocate*) VS ŚB ŚŚ 'The triple-shining hot
 drink shines (shall shine) for me', or the like

asau yaja AŚ *asau yajate* LŚ

iha sūrya ud etu te AV. *ut sūryo diva et* AV. And others, see Conc
anulbanam vayata (KS *vayasi*) *joguvāni apah* RV TS KS AB ApŚ
evam garbham dadhāmi (ApMB *dadhātu*) *te* ŚB BrhU. ŚG ApMB.
 HG. And others, §302

mahi no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau AV. *miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV.
āsthāpayata mātaram jagatnum AV. · *ā mātārā sthāpayase jagatnū* RV.
rayim dhattam (and, *dhatta*, *dhattho*) *vasumantam puruṣam* (once,
śatagnnam) RV (quater) The ind forms occur in relative
 clauses, but the impv *dhattam* twice in principal clauses. See
 RVRep 149.

anu svadhā cikittām (KS °le) *somo agnih* AV KS TB.

te na ātmasu jāgrati (KS † *jāgrta*) AV KS 'They watch (watch ye)
 over ourselves' Whitney considers emendation to *jāgratu*, which
 Ppp reads

ihaiva śatayah santu (MS. *santi sam yajurbhih*) VS MS. ŚB TA. ŚŚ
 LŚ

sarve devā atyāyanti (and, °tu) AV. (both) See §94

iṣa ūrje pavale (MS *pīpīhi*) VS MS ŚB. And others See also, in
 Conc, *adbhyah*, *oṣadhībhyah*, *vanaspatībhyah*, *brahmavarcaṣṭya*,
dyāvāprthivībhyām, *asmai kṣatrāya*, *asmai brahmane*, *asyai viṣe*,
mahyam jyaiṣṭhyāya, etc, *pavale*, and correspondents. [But I
 question any relation here. FE]

aśītiḥ santu (AV *santy*) *aṣṭau* RVKh AV. ŚŚ

dakṣinato vṛṣabha eṣi havyah (TS. *edhi havyah*, MS KS. *vṛṣabho havya*
edhi) AV TS MS KS

pari nah pāhi (*pātu*, *pari mā pāhi*) *viśvatah* AV (all). *pari tvā pāmi*
sarīatah RVKh

paridam rājy ajinam (PG °dam *vājīnam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *dhatsvāsau*)
 ŚG PG ApMB HG 'Put on, vigorous, thou yonder, thus
 skin', or, 'this skin I, vigorous, put on', or the like

tāv imā upa sarpatah SV. JB. · *emām anu sarpata* MS

anurām apa sedhati (AG *bādhatām*) AV ŚŚ AG

jaghanān upa nighnate (MS °tu, p p °ti) RV VS. TS MS KSA

adha-padani kṛnutām (AV · *lṛnuṣta*, TS *kṛnute*) *ye pṛtanyatah*, AV.
 (his) VS. TS MS KS ŚB.

- devasya yanty ūlayo* (KS *yantūlayo*) *vi vājāh* RV. KS.
atra (ŚB. *atrā*) *jahūmo 'sivā ye asan* VS. ŚB.: *atrā jahāma* (AV. *jahūta*)
ye asann aśevāh (AV. *aśivāh*, and *asan durevāh*) RV AV. (bis) TA.
ā tvā śisur ā krandatu PG *enām śisuh krandaty ā kumārāh* ŚG
pātām (TS. *vīlam*) *ghṛtasya guhyāni nāma* TS ŚŚ.: *pātho ghṛtasya*
guhyasya (MS. KS. *guhyāni*) *nāma* AV. MS KS.
tataś (RV. *ataś*, KS. *tatra*) *caḥṣāthām* (RV. *caḥṣāthe*, MS. KS. *cakrāthe*)
aditīm dātīm ca RV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB
sā (KS. *yā*) *no dadātu* (KS *°tu*) *śravanam pitṛnām* (TS. *pitṛnām*) TS.
 MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ. N. It is significant that KS, in making the
 clause relative, substitutes an ind for the impv. which is anomalous
 in relative clauses; see §§122 f.
ayam (AŚ. **aham*) *śatrūn (śatrūñ) jayatu* (AŚ. **jayāmi*) *jarhṣāṇaḥ*
 (AŚ.† **jarhṣānaḥ*); followed in all texts by.
ayam (AŚ. **aham*) *vāyam* (VS VSK ŚB. *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ. **jayāmi*)
vājasātāu VS VSK TS. MS KS ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis). The first
 person ind. form in AŚ is a conscious *vikāra* of the other.
anlarā dyāvāpyṛthivī vīyanti (MŚ *°tu*; KS. MŚ add *panthānaḥ*) TS. KS.
 SMB. MŚ PG BDh.
tāh sam dadhāmi (KS *dadhātu*, AŚ KŚ *tanomi*) *haviṣā* (MS. *manasā*)
ghṛtena TS MS KS. ApŚ AŚ KŚ.
dirghāyutvāya jaradaśtir asmi (MG. *astu*) PG MG. On MG see §323.
[susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi ŚŚ. *suśadam id gavām asti pra*
khuda AV. by R-Wh's emendation, but the mss. agree as to the
 verb forms with ŚŚ]
[yato bhayam abhayam tan no astu (AV. ed *asti*, by misprint, see Lanman
 ap Whitney on 19. 3 4) AV. KS TB ApŚ. MŚ.]
[vahiṣṭhebhīr (MS *bah°*) *vīharan yāsi* (TB *pāhi*, but comm. and Poona
 ed text *yāsi*, so read) *tantum* RV. MS KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ]
[grāmān saṣṭāyayo yanti HG.. *grāmam saṣṭāyayo gachanti* ApMB †
 (Conc. quotes ApMB as *gachantu*)]

Present Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses

§117. This is a much rarer interchange than that between present indicative and imperative. It is quite impossible to feel any distinction between the two classes; we may conclude that, in this sphere of expression, impv. and subj. perform the same function, even if we suspect, as we do, that the impv. is the milder mood of the two. The following are instances of the 2d and 3d persons:

agnir no vanate (VSK *vanute*, SV TS KS *vansate*) *raym* RV SV VS
VSK TS MS KS 'Agni wins (shall win) wealth for us' Here
vanute is pres ind, *vansate* aor subj, while *vanate* is ambiguous,
either the one or the other Cf Neisser, BB 7 223f, Oldenberg,
Proleg 289, and above, §10, end

indro jayāti (MS *jayati*) *na parā jayātar* (MS *jayate*) AV TS MS
'Indra shall be (is) victorious, shall not be (is not) vanquished'

uta prahām atidīvyā jayāti (AV **ādivā jayati*) RV AV (both) 'More-
over the superior gamester shall win (wins) the stake' *jayati* is
metrically inferior

tṛnam vasānā sumanā asas (HG *asī*) *tvam* AV HG '(O house,)
clothed in grass (i.e. thatched), be thou (thou art) well-disposed
(towards us)'

vaśi vaśam nayasa (AV *nayāsā*) *ekaja tvam* RV AV 'Thou, sole-born
one, bringest (shalt bring) them under control, controlling' Manyu
'wrath' is addressed

adhīrāyo rājasu rājayātar (TS *āti*, MS *āyate*) AV TS MS

sa no jīveṣu ā yame AV *sa no deveṣu ā yamat* RV TA 'He furnishes
(shall furnish) us (long life) among the living (the gods)' But see
note in Whitney's AV 18 2 3, from which it appears that the true
reading of AV is *yamet*, aor opt, this variant would then belong
in §169 *yame* as 3d sing is doubly suspicious, the present *yamate*
is quoted in Whitney's *Roots* only from the Epic and later SPP
with many mss reads *yamet*, or rather *yamed* (followed by *d-*).

pra rādhasā codayāte (SV *rādhasi codayate*) *mahitvanā* RV SV

rejate (SV *bhyasāt te*) *śuśmāt pṛthivī cid adriṣah* RV SV 'The very
earth trembles (shall be afraid) before thy might, O possessor of
the press-stone'

yāh paśūnām ṛṣabhe vācas tāh sūryo agre śukro agre tāh prahinomi (Ap Ś
āhino) MS ApŚ *prahinvah* is 2d sing subj with irregular
(weak) stem, of Whitney, *Grammar* §701, end

saṃjānate manasā sam cikitre RV. *saṃ jānāmahai manasā sam cikivā*
AV

§118 Rather more frequent are the interchanges between the first
persons subj and indie This is obviously due to the fact that the 1st
person subj forms do duty as imperatives, at no period in the language
is there any basis for distinguishing impv and subj in the 1st person
īayānantam (MS. *īvayāgne*) *kāmam* (ŚŚ *loham*) *aham jayāmi* (MS
jayāmi) AŚ † ŚŚ ApŚ MS ApMB 'Thru this (offering) may
I win endless delight (heaven)', or, 'thru thee, Agni, I win delight'

- brahmāham antaram lṛnve* (KŚ *karave* = °*va*) AV KŚ 'I make (let me make) the charm my inner (defense)' See §26
- (tenāham asya brahmanā) nī varlayāmi* (TB °*nī*, but comm and Poona ed. text °*mi*) jīvase TB. ApŚ MŚ. 'By that charm of his I (let me) return to life' But ApŚ and the comm suggest that Poona ed of TB. is right in reading an indie.
- jagatyainam* (AŚ erroneously, °*tyenam*) *vikṣv ā veśayāmah* (MS KS. °*mi*; AŚ °*nī*) TS. MS KS. AŚ 'With the *jagatī* (meter) we (I, may I) settle him among the clans'
- īdam aham mām kalyānyai kīrtiyai svargāya lokāyāmṛtalvāya* (ApŚ. *lokāya*) *dakṣinām nayāmi* (ApŚ °*mi*, MŚ *dadāmi*) KB. ŚŚ. ApŚ MŚ. *īdam aham mām kalyānyai kīrtiyai tejase yaśase mṛtalvāyātmānam dakṣinām nayāmi* AŚ.
- jīwann eva prath tai te* (MŚ. SMB v 1 *prathatite*) *dadhāmi* (MŚ. *dadāmi*, SMB *dadāmi*) TA SMB. MŚ But Jørgensen reads *dadāmi* in SMB; his mss vary.
- tam tvendragraha prapadye* (ApŚ * *praviśāmi*) *saguh*. KS. ApŚ (bis). *taṁ tvā pra padye tam tvā pra viśāmi sarvaguh*. AV.
- yaś uham devayajanam veda tasmīns tvā devayajana ā lṣṇomi* (SB. *tasmīns tvā vṛścāmi*) ŚB. ApŚ Acc to Caland on ApŚ 10 2 10, the HŚ reads *āvṛścāmi*
- tau saha* (VS. ŚB *tā ubhau*) *caturah padah sam prasārayāvahai* (VS. ŚB °*va*, MS °*vah*) VS TS. MS KSA ŚB ApŚ. See comm on TS 7 4 19 1 (note 9 in Weber)
- sve loke viśā* (MŚ. *viśa*) *īha* TS MŚ. '(May) I enter into my own place here' The TS strangely accents the form *viśā*.
- yasmād yoner udārithā* (KS °*lha*) *yaje* (MS KS *yajā*) *tam* RV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB
- vi sakhyāmi sṛjāmahe* (ŚŚ. °*mahai*; MŚ. *visṛjāvahai*) AŚ ŚŚ. Vart. ApŚ MŚ PG

§119 The preceding examples still partake of that temperamental distinction between ind and the oblique moods, described above. There are, however, also plain cases of such interchange as when we say in English either 'let me eat', or 'I am going to eat'. For the present is so little of a tense as to be at times a future, again, future and subj. are, especially in Sanskrit, close allies Hence the following cases, which are of course not sharply marked off from the preceding:

- (om) un nayāmi* AŚ. *(om) un nayāmi* KS KŚ ApŚ MŚ. 'I (am going to) ladle out' And others, see Conc
- nihāram nī harāmi* (VS ŚB. °*nī*) *te* VS VSK TS KS ŚB

dadāmīty (AŚ *dadānīty*) *agnir vadati* TB AŚ 'I (am going to) give, saith Agni'

manas nu (MS *manve nu*, TS *mandāmi*) *babhrūnām aham śatam dhāmāna sapta ca* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N 'Of these brown (herbs) I (am going to) declare the hundred powers and seven' See §§10, 191.

somam te krīnāmy TS KS : *somavikrayān somam te krīṇāni* MS *elad* (ŚŚ *idam*) *vām tena prīnāni* (ŚŚ °m, ApŚ. °ti, read °ni, Caland on 2 20 6, n 2) TB ŚŚ ApŚ. Conc quotes *prīnāti* for TB.

Present Indicative and Injunctive in principal clauses

§120 The injunctive, or 'improper subjunctive', is identical in form with augmentless preterites of all classes. The distinction between modal value and preterite value is always hard to make, especially since the Veda abounds with preterite indicatives in quasi-modal use (§§127ff). Moreover, a large part of the injunctive forms are formally identical with imperatives, and some of them with optatives, which further tends to efface the individuality of the injunctive. The present class of interchange is rare in any case. In so far as it occurs it puts the injunctive completely in line with the subjunctive. The following few cases are in a measure supported by some of the same sort in dependent clauses (§125)

pra te dīvo na stanayanti śuśmāh RV TS 'your lightning (fires, O Agni) thunder forth as if from heaven'; *pra te dīvo na stanayanta śuśmāh* MS 'may (your fires) thunder forth as if from heaven with lightning'

pari śvajante (SV. °ta) *janayo yathā patim* RV SV AV 'They (shall) embrace him as wives do their husbands'

ūrdhvas tisthau nem ava glāpayanti (AV °ta) RV AV 'He stands upright, verily they do not (let them not) exhaust him' [It has been argued that] this stanza has a better form in AV than in RV [See references quoted by Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 128, and note. But the contrary view is set forth there by the writer. As to this particular pāda, Ppp agrees with RV on *glāpayanti*, and is followed by Whitney in his Translation. Certainly *glāpayanti* is secondary. F E]

annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat Kauś *annādam annādāyādadhe* (KS *annādāyānnapatyāyādadhe*) TS KS : *annādam agnim annapatyāyādadhe* MS : *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ *agnim annādam annādāyāyādadhe* VS

Present Indicative and Optative (Precative) in principal clauses

§121. The optative, a rather indifferent wish mood, stands, perhaps, more in the center of the entire sphere of modality than any other mood. This accounts to some extent for its survival in the later language as the heir of most of the *modi subjunctivi*. It is, as we shall see (§169), on terms of lively reciprocity with the subj., being, however, rarer than the subj. in the metrical parts of the Veda. With the present ind. it alternates only in a moderate number of cases, especially as compared with the impv., cf. our remarks on the latter mood above. The present makes here, as usual, the impression of greater certainty or insistence. An occasional precative, interchanging with an indicative, is included at the end of the following list. Noticeable to begin with are half a dozen cases in which indicatives and optatives of the root *hū* 'call' interchange.

marutwantam sakhyāya havāmahe (SV † *huvemahe*) RV. SV. '(Indra) with the Maruts do (would) we call unto alliance.'

īam (RV. omits) *sarasvantam avase huvema* (AV *havāmahe*, RV. KS. *johavīm*) RV RVKh AV. TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

agnim (AV *ukhihān*, MahānU *ugram*) *huvema* (AV *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV TA MahānU. 'Agni (the mighty one, with songs) we (would) call from the highest seat.' AV. is metrically inferior
ṛtasya patnām avase huvema (AV *havāmahe*) AV. VS TS MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ

prātargṛātam bhagam ugram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. N.

prātaḥ somam uta rudram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS TB. ApMB.

In these it will be noted that AV markedly prefers the form *havāmahe*. The remaining cases are:

(*asyed indro madeṣu ā*) *grābham grbhnāti* (RV *grbhnāti*) *sānasim* RV. SV. 'When exhilarated by this very (soma) Indra makes (shall make) a victorious (rich) haul.' *grbhnāti* may also be regarded as injunctive or augmentless preterite

so 'ham *vāgam saneyam agne* (KS † *sanāmy agneh*) VS TS MS KS '(May) I here gain substance, O Agni (KS, Agni's substance)' The KS variant is interesting, changing the voc. to a gen. it makes it no longer a direct address to the god, and therefore less in tune with the optative mood

indravanto vanāmahe (PB *vanemahe*) TS PR

viśvair viśvāṅgair saha sam bhavāmi (AV *bhavema*) AV. MŚ 'I (may we) come into being with all sound-limbed persons'

ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ *sanomy*) *aham* TB TAA. ApŚ MŚ 'Both worlds (may) I obtain' *sanem* is a strange form, see Whitney, *Roots*, s v *san*

idam pūrbbhyah pra bhārāmi (TA *bharema*) *barhah* AV TA.

nābhuprāpnoti (MŚ **pnuyur*) *nirritim parācarih* (AŚ MŚ *parastāt*) TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ.

nṛcakṣasam tvā deva soma sucakṣā ava khyeṣam (MŚ *kṣeṣam*) TS. MŚ · *nṛcakṣasam tvā nṛcakṣāh pratīkṣe* ŚŚ

haviṣmantah sadam it tvā havāmahe RV VS SMB ŚvetU : *haviṣmanto namasā vrdhema te* TS MS KS TAA The final pāda of a verse to Rudra is here modulated in four YV. texts, probably under the influence of the RV pāda, *haviṣmanto vrdhema te*

evam aham āyusā samindhe (SMB *samedhiṣṭya*) SMB. PG 'Thus (may) I become aflame (thrive) with life' etc Cf with active (causative) impv, *evam mām āyusā .samedhaya* ApMB HG 'Thus make me thrive with life.' See §238

yad agneh sendrasya aham agne sarvavrato bhavāmi svāhā AG *yad brāhmanānām tenāham sarvavrato bhūyāsam* ApMB.

ny aham tam mṛdyāsam yo 'smān dveṣti etc MS · *idam aham tam numṛnāmi yo 'smān dveṣti* etc KS 'I (would) crush (here) him that hates us'

viśvā abhiṣṭhā prīṇā jayati MS *viśvā hi bhūyāh prīṇā abhiṣṭhā* TS. *asmīn aham sahasram puṣyāmi* ApMB · *asmīn sahasram puṣyāsam* (Kauś *puṣyāsma*) ŚB BrhU Kauś

Interchange between Present Indicative and various modal forms in dependent (mostly relative) clauses

§122 The same interchange between present indicatives and various moods occurs on a smaller scale in dependent clauses, most of which are relative The indicative states the fact, the modal forms assume it with various kinds or degrees of potentiality The difference is the same as in principal clauses bluff assumption on the one hand, prayerful uncertainty on the other The various moods all figure, but the subjunctive is here decidedly the most frequent (see Delbrück, *AltSyntax* 317ff), approaching frequently a future value Imperatives are rare, and 2d person imperatives seem not to occur at all, cf the shift between *mādayasva svarnare* RV 8 103 14, 'delight thyself in the house of Svarnara', with *yad mādayāse svarnare*, RV 8 65 2, 'when thou

delightest thyself in the house of Svarnara'; see §95, note 11. Cf. further the variant *sā no dadātu* . , *yā no dadāt* . , §116, end.

Present Indicative and Imperative in dependent clauses

§123 As we have just said, the impv in dependent clauses is rare; it is to some extent supported by injunctive forms, and first person subjunctives, which may equally well be considered imperatives (see below):

(ye) *svadantī* (MS TB. °tu, MS pp °ti) *devā ubhayāni havyā* (TB. Poona ed absurdly, *havyāh*) RV VS MS. KS TB N. 'The gods who (shall) enjoy both sorts of oblations'
[*yām* (ApMB * *tāni*) *bhadrāni bījāny* (HG. *yāni prabhūni vīryāny*)]
ṛṣabhā janayanti (HG ApMB * °tu) *nah* (AV. ca, ApMB. * *nau*)
AV ApMB (bis) HG. Only in HG. is the impv. found in a relative clause, ApMB. has *tāni janayantu nau*, but *yāni... janayanti nah*. HG. may be a blend of these two 'Which (these) excellent seeds (or the like) bulls (shall) produce for us'

Present Indicative and Subjunctive in dependent clauses

§124 In these cases, which are quite common, the subjunctive, as we have observed above, often approaches the sphere of the future.

[*yo no maruto abhi* (AV. KS *yo no maruto maruto*, TS *yo no maruto vasavo*) *durhṛnāyus*] *iraś cūṭāni* (KS *ms cūṭā*, em. by v Schroeder to *cūṭāni*) *vasavo yighānsati* (TS. *iraś satyāni maruto yighānsāt*) RV. AV. TS MS KS 'Whatever hostile mortal desires (shall desire) to slay us' etc. The stanza is otherwise *trīṣṭubh*, TS makes this pāda metrically consistent with the rest

yad aham dhanena prapananā carāmi ApMB. *yad v devāḥ prapanam carāma* HG : *yena dhanena prapanam carāmi* AV

agne vītād dhaviṣo yad yajāma (TB °mah) RV TB. 'O Agni, take note of the oblation which we (shall) offer thee' See §25.

tam dhūrva yam vayam dhūrvāmah VS TS ŚB. TB. *dhūrva tam yo 'smān dhūrvati* VS TS ŚB TB *yam vayam dhvarāma tam dhvara* (KS *vayam dhūrvāmas tam ca dhūrva*) MS. KS. *dhvara dhvarantam yo asmān dhvarāt* MS 'Injure him whom we (may) injure', 'who (shall) injure us', or the like.

yam dviṣmas tam sa ṛchatu RV. *yam dveṣāma tam ṛchatu* AV.

yena yamasya (AV. *yamasya yena*, TB ApŚ *yamasya*, om. *yena*) *nādhinā* (AV. TS TB ApŚ *balinā*) *carāmi* (MS MS *carāvah*,

- SMB.† *carāni*) AV TS MS TB TA ApŚ MS SMB.
devān yajñīyān iha yān yajāmahaḥ (TS *havāmahe*) TS MS KS.
avasyalam muñcatam yan no asṭi (AV .*asat*) RV. AV TS MS KS
yas tad veda savituh (MahānU *sa pituh*) *pītāsai* TA. MahānU. *yas*
lāni veda sa pituḥ (VS *pituh*) *pītāsai* AV VS *yas tā vijānāt sa*
pituḥ pītāsai RV AV TA N
yathāham uttaro 'sāni (HG *vadāmi*) AV. HG 'That I may be (speak)
 superior'
yo aghāyur abhidāsai AV . *yo māghāyur abhidāsai* TB
yo na indravāyū mitrāvarunāv abhidāsai bhrātṛvya idam aham
tam adharam pādāyāmi TS. *yo no mitrāvarunā abhidāsai sapatno*
bhrātṛvyaḥ idam etc MS 'The rival who contends (shall con-
 tend) against us him do I here lay low'
yo marīasyā dīśo abhidāsād agnim sā ṛchatu MS *agnim sa ṛchatu yo*
marīasyai (KS † °*syā*) *dīśo 'bhidāsai* KS ApŚ : *agnim sadīśām*
devam ṛchatu yo 'bhidāsai TB The same with *indram*,
marutah, *mitrāvarunau*, and *somam*
yam sarve 'nujīvāma TS *yam bahavo 'nujīvān* MS . *yam bahava upajī-*
vanti AŚ
[yathāham asyū vīrasya (AV *eṣām vīrānām*, cf RV 10 174 5c)] *vīrājān*
janasya (ApMB *vīrājāmi dhanasya*) *ca* RV AV ApMB 'That
 I (may) control this man (these men) and his (their) folk (wealth).'
raym yena vanāmahaḥ (SV °*he*) RV SV. 'Thru whom we (may)
 obtain wealth.'
yena jayanti (TB *jayāsi*) *na parā jayante* (TB *jayāsaḥ*) AV. TB '(In-
 dra) thru whom men conquer (thou mayest conquer), are (be) not
 conquered'
yena bhūyaś caraty ayam, jyok ca paśyati sūryaḥ, tena te vapāmy āyuse
 MG *yena bhūyaś caraty ayam, jyok ca paśyati sūryam, tenāsyāyuse*
vapa ApMB 'With (the razor) by which he shall live on and long
 behold (be beheld by) the sun, with that I shear thee (shear thou
 him unto long life' And others, see §§330, 337.
(kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuh) sacāvahe (MS °*har*, p p °*he*) *yad*
avṛkam purā cit RV MS But *sacāvahe* may possibly be also subj.,
 see § 253 Cf Delbruck, *op cit* 278
 In one not certain case we find this interchange in an interrogative
 clause which gives the effect of a conditional clause
(apām napād āśuhemā kuvi sa) supēśasas karati (KS *karoti*, but v 1
karati) *joṣiśad dhi* RV MS KS ApŚ 'Will the Son of the Waters

adorn (my songs), so as to enjoy them?' That is to say, 'if he will adorn them, he will enjoy them' The present *karoti* is secondary, if not corrupt

In a lest clause the same variation occurs (cf. Delbruck 316f; 545)
mā mā hāsīn (MŚ *hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ. *na*) *tvā jahāni* (MŚ °*mi*)
 AV † KS MŚ 'Let him not, implored, abandon me, lest I (may) abandon thee!' *mā no hāsīn metihito net tvā jahāma* TB ApŚ.: *mā no hānsīd dhinsito dadhāmi* (some mss omit *dadhāmi*) *na tvā jahāmi* AŚ

Present Indicative and Injunctive in dependent clauses

§125 The few cases noted of this interchange all show injunctive forms which are formally indistinguishable from imperatives; and of course, as usual, they might also be construed as augmentless preterites: (*haranyayī arañī*) *yam nīrmanthato aśvinā* (ŚB BrhU *yābhyām nīrmanthātām aśvinau devau*) RV. ŚB. BrhU. ApMB. HG. MG. '(The foetus) which the Aśvins drill out with their golden drill', or 'the two golden drills with which the Aśvins shall drill out' (the foetus)', etc. *yā rājānā* (TS °*nam*) *saratham yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS MS KS. *yāta* 'yātha' may be merely phonetic, see §21

ubhe yat tvā bhavato rodasī anu (SV. *tvā rodasī dhāvātām anu*) RV. SV.

Furthermore, some variants quoted under Present Indicative and Subjunctive have forms which might be considered 1st person Injunctive as well as Subjunctive, e.g. *yam dvīśmas* (*dveṣāma*) etc., see §124.

Present Indicative and Optative in dependent clause

§126 In one somewhat doubtful instance

yatra devaṁ sadhamādāma madanti (MS TB *madama*) AV. MS TB. 'Where they revel (we may revel) in common revelry with the gods' Cf. *athā* (TB also *yathā*) *devaṁ sadhamādāma madama* KS TB ApŚ But the comm on AV 18. 4 10 reads *madama*, the isolated *madanti* is somewhat suspicious, see Whitney's note

II PRETERITES IN INTERCHANGE WITH MOODS

§127 We have used the term 'temperamental' more than once in the preceding pages, to describe the uses of the categorical indicative that really carry within them modal values of various kinds and degrees The Vedic poets show even greater keenness of feeling in their use of preterite indicatives where they really experience moods Especially is this true of the aorist, which is typically used to denote an accom-

plished fact within the range of the speaker's own knowledge, so that it is a favorite mode of confident assertion, especially of recent events (Delbrück, *Alttempuslehre* 6, Renou 29) Altho the imperfect, perfect, and past passive participle all appear commonly enough in interchange with moods, the aorist is the commonest of all This kind of aorist, especially common in the literature of magic and conjuration, has been called with some propriety 'prophetic aorist' So some texts say:

añjasā satyam upāgām MS KS. 'I have speedily attained unto truth!'

But the majority, nine in number, use an optative aorist:

añjasā satyam upa geṣam VS. TS GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ ŚG 'May I speedily attain unto truth!' And this variant is a valuable commentary on the aorist indicative of the other texts, it really means only that such is the speaker's earnest and insistent desire Or, again, one text says:

candramā nakṣatrain anu tvāvīt KS. (aor indic), 'The moon with the constellations has helped thee along' Another text, using the imperative, says

candramā nakṣatrain anu tvāvatu TB 'Let the moon with the constellations help thee along'

§128 It is worth mentioning that sometimes the same text contains expressions with both verbal forms Thus in the reciprocal *ūha* formulas ŚB 3. 4 3 9 and 3 6 3 21 *anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir manyatām* (*amañsta*), 'the Lord of Consecration shall favor (has favored) my consecration' Or MS 1 2 14 and 4 13. 8 *prthuvīm upareṇa dṛnha* and *pr° uparenādṛnhāt*, 'steady thou (it has steadied) the earth with thy (its) base.' These show more definitely how close to each other are the two types of expression

§129 The considerable list which we have classed as preterites with and without augment (§§266ff) may also contain some cases in which the augmentless form is really modal, and thus belong here

As in the case of the present variants, we have separated those which occur in principal clauses from those in subordinate clauses.

§130 Aorist Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

sā na āgan (AV *aitu*, KS *seyam āgād*) *varcasā samvīdānā* AV. TS KS.

TB 'She hath come (let her come) to us endowed with luster'

sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

'The eye of Sūrya I have mounted (mount thou)'

saṁ āpo adbhīr agmata VS TS ŚB TB ŚŚ ApŚ 'Waters have commingled with waters' *saṁ āpā oṣadhībhu gachantām* MS. 'Let waters commingle with plants'

syonām āsadam suṣadām āsadam LŚ *syonām āsida suṣadām āsida* VS. TS MS KS ŚB. TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'I have seated myself (sit thou) on (a throne that is) fair, (that is) a pleasant seat' See Conc under each half of the formula

viṣṇus tvākransla (VS ŚB *tvā kramatām*) VS ŚB ApŚ.

śucam te (SV *ca*) *varnam adhi goṣu dīdharam* (SV *dhāraya*) RV SV.

ud asau sūryo agāt RV AV *ud asāv etu sūryah* TB.

agnir janavin mahyam jāyām imām adāt Kauś 'Agni who obtains people hath given me this woman to wife' *agnir janitā sa me 'mūm jāyām dadātu* ŚG 'May Agni the begetter give me yonder woman to wife' Similarly with *pūṣā jātwin*, and *somo vasuvin* (*janimān*) *ā tvāhārṣam antar abhūh* (RV. AG Rvidh *edhi*) RV AV. TS VS MS KS ŚB TB AG Rvidh 'I have brought thee hither, thou hast entered (enter thou) within'

annapale 'nnasya (*annasya*) *no dehi* VS TS MS. KS ŚB TB. ApŚ MŚ PrānāgU. AG ŚG MG. ApMB. *āśaye 'nnasya no dhehi* Kauś : *annasyānnapatih prādāt* PB

akartām aśvinā lakṣma AV *kṛnutam lakṣmāśvinā* AV The second precedes the first in the adjoining stanza, there is this time a clearly intended difference of meaning 'O Aśvins, make (the Aśvins have made) the mark' So also in the next

aśvinā gharmam pātām (MS *pibatām*) VS MS ŚB TA. ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ. (in the sequel) *apātām aśvinā gharmam* VS ŚB ŚŚ LŚ. *gharmam apātām aśvinā* MS TA ApŚ Deliberate modulation with change of sense, as in prec 'See §329.

dharmānā vāyūm ā viśa (SV *āruhak*) RV SV.

akaram pūruṣu priyam RVKh *karotu pūruṣu priyam* HG *pūruṣu priyam kuru* ApMB. 'I have made (let it make, make thou) [me] dear among the Pūrus' See §302

punah prānah punar ātmā na (MS TB ApŚ HG *punar ākūlam*, TA *punar ākūtam ma*, MG *punar ākūtir*) *āgāt* (VS ŚB *āgan*, AV MG *astu*) AV VS VSK MS ŚB TB TA ApŚ HG MG.

mṛdho vy āsthad abhayam no astu TB *vy āsthan mṛdho abhayam te abhūt* AV

janiṣṭa (TS *janiṣvā*, MS *śva*) *hi janyo agre ahnām* RV. TS MS KS. 'He has been (be thou) born, noble, at the break of days'

anu ma idam vralam vralapatir manyatām MS *anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir*

- manyatām (KS °palayo manyadhvam, ŚB * °patir amansta) VS
TS KS GB ŚB. (bis) Vait.
- idam varco (AŚ rādho) agnā dattam āgāt (AV. āgan) AV MS TB
AŚ ā mā varco °gnā dattam etu KS
- (yam kam ca lokam agan yajñas) tato me bhadram abhūt VS ŚB (yatra
kva ca yajño °gāt) tato mā dravinam aṣṭu ŚB tato mā dravinam aṣṭu
(AB āṣṭa) VS AB ŚB ŚŚ See Conc. under divam tṛṣyam,
antarikṣam tṛṣyam, and pṛthivīm tṛṣyam, with their correspondents
'(To whatsoever place the sacrifice has gone,) thence welfare has
come to me (thence let wealth reach me)'
- indro vājam ajayit TS. TB . indra vājam jaya VS MS KS ŚB
- annam me puriṣya pāhi (and, puriṣyājyugupah) Kauś (both) annam
me (no) budhya (budhnya) pāhi tan me (no) gopāyāsmākam punar
āgamāt MS ApŚ. annam me (no) budhyājyugupas (budhnyā°) tan
me (no) punar dehi MS ApŚ
- sapraṭha (MŚ °thah) sabhām me gopāya (MŚ pāhi, and °jugupah)
TB ApŚ MŚ (bis) sabhya sabhām me pāhi AV
- sarvam tam bhasmasā (TS ŚB masmasā) kuru VS TS ŚB sarvāns tām
maṣmaṣā (MS † mṛsmṛsā) kuru MS KS † TA sarvān nī maṣmaṣā-
karam AV 'Every one I have smashed (smash thou)', or the like
- trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān (MS °gah) VS MS ŚB samsarpa
(KS °pan) trīn samudrān svargān (ApŚ svargān lokān) KS ApŚ
- pṛthivīm uparena dṛṇha TS MS . pr° uparenādṛṇhīh (MS. TB KS.*
°hū) VS MS KS (both) ŚB TB
- varca ā dhehi me tanvam (KS dhāyi me tanūh) AV KS 'Set luster in
my body', 'My body has been set in luster'
- mayi dhāyi (MS dhehi) svīryam MS TB TA
- payasvān (TS TB ApMB °vān) agna āgamam AV VS TS MS KS
JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB payasvān agna āgahi RV.
- tam (TS KS tam vah) supṛitam subhṛtam akarṃ (KS abhārṣam, VS.
bibhṛta) VS TS KS 'This (embryo) we (I) have made (main-
tained, maintain ye) pleasant and well-maintained (for you)'
- abhūr grṣṭinām (with variants) abhīśastipāvā (AV °pā u) AV HG.
ApMB bhavā krṣṭinām (AV mss gr°) abhīśastipāvā (AV °pā u)
AV PG ApMB HG
- devas te savitā hastam grhṇātu AV savitā hastam agrahāt (ŚG. agrabhāt)
AV ŚG SMB. savitā te hastam agrabhāt (AG °bhād asau, MG
agrahāt) AG ApMB HG MG
- sakhāyah sapṭapadā abhūma TB ApŚ . sakhāyau sapṭapadāv abhūva
ApMB. (corruptly, °dā babbhūva) HG sakhā sapṭapadā (ApMB.
°dā) bhava AG ŚG Kauś ApMB SMB

paśūn me (ApŚ * *nah*) *śansya pāhi* MS ApŚ MŚ: *paśūn me* (ApŚ.* *nah*) *śansyāgugupah* (ApŚ. °jūg°) MS ApŚ MŚ And other formulas in the same passages

§131. *Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses*

jeṣah (and, *jeṣat*, *ajah*) *svarvatīr apah* LV (all). 'Thou shalt win (he shall win, thou hast won) the waters rich in light' See *RVRep.* 39

ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair (ApMB °śīr, MG °śam) *aguh* (AG. ApMB. *ayān*; ŚG *gaman*, PG *upa*, HG. *ayann wa*, MG *airayam*) AV AG. ŚG. PG. HG ApMB. MG. 'With mugs of sour milk they have (shall) come', or the like

ānyāvākṣād (VS *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vāryān* VS. TB 'The other hath brought (shall bring) boons and treasure'

vṛṣṭva cakradad (and, *cakrado*) *vane* RV · *vṛṣo acikradad vane* SV The

RV forms are counted as perfect subjunctives, see §272

sakhāya ā śiṣāmahi (AV SV °he) RV AV. SV AA ŚŚ AŚ

Aorist Indicative and Injunctive in principal clauses

§132 If the injunctive forms varying with presents (above) and with other modal forms (below) are apt to be doubtful because also interpretable as augmentless preterites, this is a *fortiori* true of such as vary with augmented past forms. There is, indeed, really nothing that can decide in such a case, whether to regard the augmentless form as a preterite or an injunctive, since, as we have now abundantly seen, the 'true' preterites may be used just as well as modal forms in any situation. Hence, we have preferred to keep most such interchanges in one group, and have classified them below under augmented and augmentless preterites (§264ff), in this place we add merely one or two instances chosen on more or less subjective grounds, which seem rather more likely than most to contain modal value

anu (MS adds *mām*, TA *vām*) *dyāvāpṛthivā* (MS adds *anu me*) *aman-sātām* (TA also *mans°*, MS 'mansā°, p p *amansā°*) VS MS ŚB TA (bis) ŚŚ LŚ 'Heaven and earth have favored (shall favor) me' In adjoining passages in TA

pūṣā mādhat (AV *mā dhāt*, MS *nā ādhāt*) *sukṛtasya lokē* AV. TS MS KS 'Pūṣan hath placed (shall place) me in the world of pious deed'

urdhvo adhvāro asthāt (VS ŚB 'dhvāra āsthāt, KS 'dhvare s'thāh, ApŚ *adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ 'The sacrifice has stood

straight' 'stand thou upright on the sacrifice' On ApŚ's reading see §337

pra tārī (TS *prātārī*) *agne pratarām* (TS *°rām*) *na āyuh* RV TS MS. KS ApŚ 'O Agni, may our life be (our life has been) extended further'

§133 *Aorist Indicative and Optative (Precative) in principal clauses*

devasya (*devasyāham*, VSK *devasya vayam*) *savituh prasave* (save) *ruheyam* (GB *roheyam*, VSK *ruhema*) VS VSK TS MS KS GB ŚB TB Vait LŚ ApŚ MŚ *aruham* VS ŚB *aruhāma* VSK

āditya nāvam ārukṣah (AVPpp *āruham*, SMB *āroḥṣam*) AV SMB *sūrya nāvam ārukṣah* AV *imām su nāvam* (read, *sunāvam*?) *āruham* TS KS ApŚ *sunāvam āruheyam* VS 'O sun, thou hast (I have) mounted the ship', 'I have mounted (may I mount) this good ship'

upānsunā sam amṛtatvam ānaḥ (ApMB *āśyām*) RV VS MS KS TA. MahānU ApŚ ApMB 'By the (soma) plant he hath reached (may I reach) immortality'

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah*) *sumatau viśvavedāh* TS KS PG '(Agni) the all-possessing has become in a good humor towards me', *bhūyāsma te sumatau viśvavedah* (so MS intends, by its regular sandhi, text *°dā*, followed by vowel) MS 'May we be in thy favor, O all-possessing (Agni)' Cf the item *bhūyāsma te sumatau* in Conc *tad asya priyam abhi pātho āśyām* (TB *asthām*) RV MS AB TB AŚ 'May I attain (I have reached) that dear place of his' But Poona ed of TB, text and comm, reads *āśyām*

grāvāvādīd (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*) *abhi somasyānśum* (ApŚ *°sunā*) KS ApŚ But von Schroeder reads in KS *grāvā vaded*, with v 1 *grāvāvādīd*

§134 *Aorist Indicative and Future in principal clauses*

agnim sve yonāu (VSK MS KS *yonā*) *abhār* (ApŚ *yonau bharīṣyaty*) *ukhā* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ 'The pot hath borne (shall bear) Agni in her own womb'

paridhāsyai yaśo dhāsyai PG *paridhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē* MG *parīdam vāso adhūhāh* (HG *adhūdhāh*, ApMB *adhū dhā*) *svastaye* AV HG ApMB. The forms *-dhāsyai* (*-dhāsyē*) are uncertain, perhaps infinitives See §177

tvām eva pratyakṣam brahma vadīṣyāmu (and, *brahmāvādīṣam*) TA TU (both in each)

§135. Aorist Indicative and Desiderative in a principal clause

na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (ŚŚ. *alpsata*) AB. ŚŚ. 'Which they (one) would not find (even) among śūdras' *alpsata* imperf. desid.; *alapsata*, 3 pl. aor. ind.; Keith on AB. 7. 17. 3 suggests reading *alapsyata*, conditional.

§136 Imperfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

mahyam āpo madhumad erayantām (KS. *airayanta*) AV. KS. Kauś. 'To me the waters shall send (sent) what is sweet.'

pr̥ṣiheṣv erayā (SV *airayaḥ*) rayim RV. SV.

praty aukatām (MS. *ūh*) āśvinā mṛiyum asmāt (AV. *asmat*) AV. VS.

TS MS KS 'The Aśvins swept (shall sweep) away death from him (us).'
ukatām may, of course, be augmentless imperfect, or injunctive

tvām gāvo 'vṛnata rājyāya TS MS. *tvām vīso vṛnatām rājyāya* AV. 'Thee the cows (clans) chose (shall choose) for kingship'

pāhi (TS ApMB *āvah*) kṣema uta yoge varam nah RV. TS. PG. ApMB. MG.

sam devī (KS *devī*) devyorvaśyā paśyasva (KS. *orvaśyāḥkhyata*) TS. KS. ApŚ.

vapām te agnir iṣito arohat (TS. *iṣito 'va sarpatu*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB. *vy uchā* (and, *aucho*) *duhitar dīvah* RV SV. (both in both texts).

asmān rāya uta yajñāh (KS † *yajñah*) sacantām TS. KS ApŚ. *asmān rāyo maghavānah sacantām* RV VS MS KS ŚB. ŚŚ: *yusmān rāya uta yajñā asaścata* MS

āsann ā (SV PB *āsan nah*) pātram janayanta (KS *tu*) devāh RV. VS.

TS MS KS *janayanta* may be, less probably, injunctive
dikṣāpālāya vanatam (PB *pālebhyo 'vanatam*) hi śakrā TB AŚ But see §286

uṣnena vāya udakenehi (SMB GG *udakenaidhi*, ApMB *vāyav udakenehi*, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG. ApMB. MG. 'With warm water come, O Vāyu (Vāyu came, or the like)' But the MG reading is a more than dubious imperf, if not merely corrupt, it is likely that it contains the particle *id*

sarasvatyā (AV. *tyām*) adhī manāv (AV. *manāv*, read *manāv*; KS *mānā*, SMB *vanāva*) acarkṣuh (KS *acarkṣuh*, SMB. *carkṛdhi*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG '(Thus barley) they have plowed (plow thou) on the Sarasvatī (for Sarasvatī) in behalf of Manu', or the like But Jorgensen, text and comm, reads *manāv*

acahr̥ṣuh for SMB; and KS has a v l. *manā acahr̥ṣuh*. Probably these are the true readings

§137. *Imperfect Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses*

ā vo rohito aśṛnod abhidyavah (AV *ātah śṛnavat sudānavah*) AV. TB. 'Rohita listened (shall listen) to you, heavenly (liberal) ones'

jātah prchad (SV *prchād*) vi *mātaram* RV. SV 'As soon as born he asked (shall ask) his mother.' Cf vi *prchad itī mātaram* RV.

See §9

prbāt somam amadann (AV *somam mamadaḥ*) *enam iṣṭayak* (AV *iṣṭe*) AV AŚ ŚŚ 'May he drink the soma, the sacrificers have exhilarated him (may it exhilarate him at the sacrifice)'

ayann (TB *āyann*) *arthām kṛnavann apāṁsi* RV. KS TB ApŚ The parallel *kṛnavan* is a guarantee of the secondariness of *āyann* (or is the preverb *ā* contained in it?)

duraś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāhi RV *turaś cid viśvam arnavat lapasvān* AV The latter is grossly corrupt

yo mā dadāti sa id eva māvāh (ArS NṛpU *māvat*) ArS TB. TA TU NṛpU N 'Who gives me, he verily shall help (? has helped) me' The form *avāh* or *āvāh* is very obscure and probably harbors a corruption TB comm *āvṛṇoti* (apparently understanding it as a 3d sing s-aor of *ā-vṛ*), TA comm *avati*, taking it from *av*, but without any suggestion as to how the form is understood A 3d person seems required

§138 *Imperfect Indicative and Injunctive in a principal clause*

apah prerayam (SV *prarayāt*, TB *prarayan*) *sagarasya budhnāt* RV SV TB 'Let me send (he, or they, sent) forth (songs as) water from the basin of the ocean' See §323 But *prerayam* may be indicative.

§139 *Perfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses*

ni hotāram viśva idam dadhādhi RV *ni hotāram gṛhapatm dadhādhi* RV SV 'Ye have established (Agni) as all-wise hotar', 'establish ye (perfect imperative) as hotar and house-lord.'

sa nah pito (!) madhumān ā viveṣa Kauś (secondary), 'This honeyed food hath entered us', *sa nah pito madhumān ā viśeṣa* KS 'O food, enter us here, honeyed' *sa no mayobhūh pito āviśasva* (ŚG PG SMB [Jorgensen] *pitav āvi*°, AŚ *pitav āviśeṣa*) TS TB AŚ ŚG SMB PG See §69

ireva dhanvan nī jajāsa te vīṣam AV 'Like fluid on a waste hath thy poison disappeared'; *sarve sākam nī jasyata* RV 'Do ye all together disappear.' The parallel is remote except for the use of the verbs

vāk tvā samudra upadadhātu (ApŚ °*dadhe*) KS ApŚ
rudro vasubhur ā cake (TS. *ciketu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Rudra with the Vasus hath loved (shall attend to) us.'

§140 Perfect Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses

(in half the cases, the subjunctive is from a perfect stem)
sa vīśvā prati cākṛpe AV. sa *vīśvam prati cākṛpat* AŚ ŚŚ. 'He hath shaped himself into (he shall shape) everything'
vavakṣa (SV. °*kṣat*) *sadyo mahi dūtyam caran* RV SV 'He (Agni) hath grown (shall grow) straightway, going upon his great mission'

But SV. may be regarded as augmentless pluperfect
nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate (AA *dadharṣa*, ŚŚ *dadharṣayā*) AV. AA ŚŚ 'He is not to be dared against, (his might) dares (shall dare)' *dadhṛṣate* is perfect subjunctive *dadharṣayā* appears to be a perfect from the causative stem, used in primary sense, see §241. Cf Whitney on AV 6 33 2 and Keith on AA 5 2 1. 3

manhiṣṭho gīrbhur ā ca yajñīyo vavarīat (SV. *vavarīa*) RV. AV. SV. TB. '(Indra) most liberal, fit for sacrifice, (induced) by our songs, shall turn (has turned) hitherward.' Poona ed of TB '*vavarīat*, as if pluperfect

sa no nedīṣṭham (TS MS °*ṣṭhā*, VS ŚB *vīśvām*) *havanām joṣat* (TS *joṣate*, MS *havanā jujoṣa*) VS TS MS. KS. ŚB *joṣat* and *joṣate* are both aor subj

anyad yuṣmākam antaram babhūva (TS *bhavāt*) RV VS TS. MS. KS.

N 'Something else has arisen (shall arise) between you'

ayāsā havyam ūhiṣe ApŚ ApMB HG. *ayā san* (MS ŚŚ *ayāh san*, and so ApMB comm explains, KS *ayās san*, Kauś *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ. ApMB ApŚ Kauś HG *ayā no yajñam vahāsi* KŚ 'Being nimble thou hast carried the oblation (carry the sacrifice).'

sarvam āyur vy ānaṣe (MS *aśnavat*) MS TB ApŚ *vīśvam āyur vy aśnavat* (AV mss *aśnavat*) AV. VS KS TB *dirgham āyur vy aśnavat* PG In AV. the vulgate reads *aśnavam*; Whitney, on 19. 55 6, would read *aśnavan*, the reading of the mss may be kept (subject *sabhā*). The context is different from the others

§141 *Perfect Indicative and Ingunctive in a principal clause*

karṇābhyām bhūri vi śruvam (PG *bhūri śuśruve*) TA TU PG—TA.
comm *śrūyāsam* 'Ma. I hear (I have heard, or I hear) abundantly with my ears'

§142. *Perfect Indicative and Optative in principal clauses*

stotāram id didhīṣeya (SV. *dadhīṣe*) *radāvaso* RV AV SV. 'To the poet, verily, I should wish to share out wealth, O opener of wealth' *didhīṣeya* is opt of desiderative. The SV form is very obscure, Benfey (Glossar, p 101) follows the comm in taking it as 1st person aor subj, but it seems more likely to be felt as a perfect ind, to be sure of anomalous formation (presumably quasi-desiderative) Cf. *grñīṣe* of RV., treated by Whitney, *Roots*, as pres ind Both forms must in any case be 1st person

parāvata (MS. *ālā*) *ā jaganthā* (AV *jagamyāt*, TS *jagāmā*) *parasyāh* RV. AV SV. VS. TS MS KS *jagamyāt* is perfect opt.

indrasya sakhyam amṛtatvam aśyām (RV *ānaśa*) RV TB ApŚ 'Ye have obtained (may I obtain, aor opt) the friendship of Indra (and) immortality' Different contexts, in RV. in a relative clause, address to the Aṅgrases.

Past Passive Participles interchanging with moods in principal clauses

§143 The same contrast, namely between more or less assumed confidence of statement and mere desire, is brought out by the interchange between a perfect passive participle, with or without copula, and a mood. The participle is thus pretty precisely in the place of the prophetic aorist It is worth noting in this connection that the same participle also interchanges commonly with a present indicative (§246). For instance

yunajmi vāyūm antarikṣena (PB *yukto vāto 'nta'*) *te* (MŚ *tena*) *saha* TS PB ApŚ MŚ 'I yoke (yoked is) the wind with atmosphere for thee (or, with this atmosphere)'

Here the participle states the fact as accomplished in the strained sense of the prophetic aorist, while the present indicative has future modality of a lighter quality, optative, or the like In essence such interchanges belong, for the most part, in the same sphere as the group now dealt with. By the same token modal value lurks often in the passages of present and past indicatives interchanging, §§221ff

§144. Following is the brief list of past participles exchanging with moods (see also §104, w), all the modal forms are imperatives but the last, an injunctive

sam barhūr aklam (VS ŚB. *añktām*, TB ApŚ *sam añktām barhūr*)
haviṣā ghṛtena AV. VS ŚB TB. ApŚ. 'The barhūs has been
 anointed (shall anoint itself, i e be anointed, see §87) with oblation,
 with ghee' And, in the same stanza:

sam devār viśvadevebhūr aklam AV : *sam indrena viśvebhūr devebhūr* (VS
 ŚB *indro viśvadevebhūr*) *añktām* VS ŚB TB ApŚ. Cf prec.

tenedhyasva vardhasva ceddha (HG. *cendha*) AG. HG. 'By this (firewood)
 burn and grow, thou that art kindled (and kindle)'

ghṛtena sītā madhunā samaktā (VS MS KS ŚB. *samaḡyatām*) AV VS
 TS MS KS ŚB. 'With ghee, with honey, the furrow has been
 (shall be) anointed.'

tan me rādhyatām (TB * SMB * *samṛdhyatām*; VS * TS * TA * '*rādhi*;
 Kauś * *samṛddham*, and *rāddham*) VS TS ŚB TB TA ŚŚ MŚ
 Kauś SMB All texts have *rādhyatām*, besides the variants as
 quoted 'May this succeed (this has succeeded) for me'

tān sma mānuṣatkṛtāh AŚ ete nānuṣatkṛtāh Vait. 'Do not say
vaṣaṭ after these', 'these are not followed by *vaṣaṭ*.'

Interchange between Preterites and Modal forms in dependent and prohibitive clauses

§145 In quite a number of cases preterites of all sorts and modal forms interchange in dependent clauses We have quoted above (§99) an example from the RV itself. *yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā* 4. 42 6, *yan mā somāsa ukthino amandīṣuh* 10 48 4 The tense commonly remains unchanged, but sometimes, as in the case just quoted, it is shifted without any restriction The present class of variants does not differ in any essential from the group of interchanges between presents and modal forms in dependent clauses, §§122ff. We have included here a few cases of interchange between augmented and augmentless preterite indicative forms, they differ from the similar cases quoted below §268 only in so far that, on subjective grounds, there seem to us to be reasons for finding injunctive force in the augmentless forms quoted here But no clear line can be drawn between the two groups, and perhaps it would have been better not to try to separate them, at least each must be considered together with the other

(a) *Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive*

yas tvā karad ekavṛṣam janānām AV 'who shall make thee chief bull of the people', *sa tvākar ekavṛṣabham svānām* TB. 'he has made thee chief bull of thy kinsmen'

yan mā somāso mamadan yad uklhā, and *yan mā somāsa uklhino aman-diṣuh* RV. (both) See §99

(b) *Aorist Indicative and Injunctive*

bhūyānso bhūyāsta ye no bhūynso 'larla MS 'be ye more, ye who have made us more', *bhūyānso bhūyāstma ye ca no bhūyasah kārṣta* Kauś 'may we be more, and likewise ye who shall make us more' But, of course, *kārṣta* may be a mere preterite in force —The same with *annādā bhū*

(c) *Imperfect Indicative and Imperative (? Injunctive)*

mṛtyoh padam (MG *padāni*) *yopayanto yad aṭa* (TA *aṭa*, AV *yopayanta eta*, MG *lopayante yad eta*) RV AV TA MG 'When ye (we) came (come ye, AV, when ye shall come? MG) effacing the track of death' AV., which lacks the conjunction *yad*, has clearly imperative, MG. is probably corrupt in *yad eta*, but *eta* may be understood as injunctive, or even anomalously as imperative, cf. §123; probably, however, read *etad* in MG, see §307

(d) *Imperfect Indicative and Subjunctive*

(*yam agne pṛtsu martyam*) *avā* (TS *āvo*) *vāḡeṣu yam junāh* RV SV TS MS KS. ŚB 'The mortal whom thou, Agni, shalt (didst) protect in battles, shalt promote in contests' Note that all texts agree on *junāh*, which may be felt either as subj or as augmentless imperfect [*yad adya hotṛvarye* (ŚŚ 'vū ye)] *jihmam cakṣuh parāpatat* (ŚŚ 'tāt) ŚB. ŚŚ ApŚ 'What today at the choice of *hotṛ* has escaped (may escape) the crooked (= faulty) eye'

yad vāskandād dhaviṣo yatra-yatra Kauś 'or what part of the oblation has dropped anywhere'. *yad vā skandād ājyasyaṭa viṣno* TS KS 'moreover what part of the butter shall drop, O Viṣnu'

ahā yad dyāvo (AV. *devā*) *asunitim ayan* (AV. *āyan*) RV AV. *ayan* seems most simply to be taken as subjunctive, rather than augmentless imperfect to present *ayati*

[*tisro yad agne śaradaḥ tvām ic*] *chucim ghṛtēna śucayah saparyān* (TB. 'yan) RV TB See §8

(e) *Imperfect Indicative and Injunctive*

śatam yo nah śarado 'nayat (MŚ *nayat*) KS MŚ 'Who has brought (shall bring) us to a hundred autumns' Favorable to injunctive interpretation are the readings of the parallel texts TS has an adjective *ajitūn* for (a) *nayat*; the verb *neṣat* occurs in the following

pāda, as it does also in SMB. PG. The Cone. reading for SMB is *ajjāt*, glossed *ajjanat*, but Jorgensen's edition gives *ajjyāt*, glossed *ajyāt* (*aja gahūṣapanayoh; .gamayatu ity arthah*) PG has *jīṇ* (Stenzler. 'der uns hundert Jahre schaffe') All these parallels suggest that even KS. probably has distinctly modal force in its 'nayat, and the habits of Indian mss compel us to consider the writing of *avagraha* in its text of very dubious authority; possibly *nayat*, injunctive, may be even KS's real reading

(f) *Perfect Indicative and Subjunctive*

yat te grāvnā cichiduh (MŚ *vichindat*) *soma rājan* TB Vait MŚ 'What with the press-stone they have (one may) cut off of thee, King Soma' *vichindat* is apparently pres subj made irregularly from the weak stem, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §687

yat sāsahat (SV *sāsāhā*, KS † *sāsāhat*) *sadane lamcid atrinam* RV. SV. KS 'Which shall (has) overcome every demon in his home.'

Augmentless and Augmented Prohibitives with mā

§146 In a few cases prohibitives, normally augmentless aorists, vary with augmented forms of the same or a similar tense-system; there is no room for change of meaning Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §579c. The type of augmented prohibitive lasts into Pāli, or is resumed there secondarily, see Jātaka 439 (Fausbøll IV. 1, line 15), *mā maṃ kiñci avaca*, 'do not tell me anything'

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat ViDh. MDh. YDh BṛhPDh. AuśDh : *śraddhā me mā vyāgāt* ApŚ

ganān me mā vi tīrṣah (MŚ °*ṣat*) TS MŚ : *ganān me mā vy arīrṣah* Vait : 'Do not make thirsty (injure) my troops.'

mā nah param adharam mā rajo 'naih (MŚ.† *param adhanam mā rajo nah*) TA MŚ *mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaih* (corrupt) MS. Both editions of TA agreeing on 'naih with *avagraha*, but little importance is probably to be attached to this, cf §265

mā no rudro (MS *agnim*, p p *agnih*) *nīrṣhr mā no aslā* (MS *na āslān*, followed by *m-*, p p *āṣṭhām*) MS. TA Both forms are dubious, but TA apparently understands an augmentless 3d sing. mid of as 'throw' (comm *asyatu*), while MS seems to understand an augmented form of *ās* 'attain' (or, in spite of the p p, the prefix *ā* may be contained)

§147. There is a single somewhat grotesque case of interchange between *Perfect Indicative and Injunctive in prohibitive (mā) clause*:

mā tvā ke cin nī (AV *le cid vī*) *yaman vīm* (SV *le cin nī yemur in*, TA *ke cin nyemur in* [v. 1, and comm., as SV, so read or understand TA]) *na pāśnah* RV AV SV VS. TA 'Let not any hold thee in check as fowlers a bird' SV and TA are corrupt *yemur* really belongs to a parallel categoric construction with *na*, rather than *mā*. See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 283.

INTERCHANGES BETWEEN THE MOODS PROPER

§148 We now come to interchanges between the true or 'oblique' moods themselves, after sketching in the preceding pages their relation to the various indicatives. The reference-works on Sanskrit syntax define each mood by itself; they hardly attempt seriously to mark off the territory of one mood as compared with another. And this is wise. All the authorities recognize the freedom and indefiniteness of the use of moods. The impv., e.g., is a moderate mood of request, it includes not only command but instruction, advice, wish, and prayer, thus covering most of the sphere of the other moods. It would serve no useful purpose for us here to follow in the footsteps of the syntacticians and define precisely the uses of each modal category (see in general, and most conveniently, Delbrück, *Vergl. Synt. d. indg. Sprachen* 2 346ff.). Rather do the following lists show the constancy of transition from one to another, than the peculiar function of any one of them. They represent links in a chain of modality which is scarcely broken by any peculiar use reserved for any one of them. We have also seen (§105) that tense-distinctions in the moods abound, but are totally without significance. Pres. subj. and aor. subj. are quite identical, precative (aor. opt.) has in the Veda purely optative value which does not in the least account for the aoristic element in its make-up. Even the prohibitive use of the injunctive with *mā* occasionally (tho very rarely) yields to that of the imperative or even optative (§§159, 174, end). Nor is the preference for aorist, rather than present (imperfect), injunctive by any means a settled fact, as far as the Veda is concerned (§211). As far as we can observe, any one of the true moods may interchange with any other, certainly in principal sentences, but also to a considerable extent in subordinate clauses.

III. IMPERATIVE IN EXCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§149 The imperative, in addition to its very frequent reciprocity with indicatives (already treated), interchanges with subjunctive,

injunctive, optative, precative, future, and infinitive. This order is followed in the sequel. In addition, the class of mixed imperative-subjunctive forms, treated below (§173), contains cases which involve not only the proper subj., but also those mixed forms which are part impv and part subj. And the second person modal forms in *si* and *se* (§§164f), themselves classed as imperatives, alternate with regular impv forms. Finally the impv. is used also, tho very rarely, as prohibitive with *mā*, exchanging with prohibitive injunctives (§159).

§150 The impv. in *tāt* shows in these interchanges a character in no wise different from that of the ordinary impv. See the relation of RV. 1. 48 15 to 8 9 1, described above, §100, and several examples under the heading 'Instances of more than two modal varieties', §104. Cf. also the section on Imperatives in *tāt* exchanging with other Imperatives, §254.

Imperative and Subjunctive

§151 It will be convenient to assort this large group into three subdivisions. Imperative and Subjunctive without change of tense or person; without change of tense but with change of person, and with change of tense, with or without change of person

§152 Imperative and Subjunctive without change of tense or person

ādityās iad āṅgrasas cnavantu TB: *viśve devā āṅgrasas cinavan* KS.

ApŚ 'May the Ādityas (All-gods) and Āṅgrases pile (that).'

svādūḥ pavāte (SV. *pavatām*) *atī vāram avyam* RV SV 'May the sweet (soma) strain itself thru the wool'

sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme (MŚ *vācam asmāt*) TS. MŚ *sā samnaddhā sanuḥ vājam emam* (MG *sanuḥ bhāgadheyam*) AV † MG.

sviṣṭm nas tām (AV erroneously, *tām*) *kṛnavad* (TS *kṛnotu*) *viśvakarmā* (MS *tām viśvakarmā kṛnotu*) AV. TS. MS

sa no mṛdātīdṛṣe RV. AV. TS MS KS ApMB N.. *te no mṛdantu idṛṣe* AV (*vikāra* of the prec, used in same hymn): *tā no mṛdāta* (VSK. *mṛl*) *idṛṣe* RV. SV VS VSK TS. KS.

varīśvānarah pavitā mā punātu AV.: *vāṛīśvānarah pavayān naḥ pavitrān* TA

te no rayīm sarvavīram ni yachān (HG *yachantu*) AV HG

agnir havyam (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā sūdayātī* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS.

ā sīdātī (SV. *°atu*) *kalaśam devayur naḥ* (SV. *deva induh*) RV. SV. *sarvam punatha* (VDh. *punīta*) *me pāpam* BDh VdDh.

sarvam punatha me yavāh BDh · *tat punādhvam* (and, *punādhvam ca*)
yavā mama VIdh

iṣṭāpārte (KS. °*am*) *kṛnavāthāvir* (VSK ŚB. *kṛnavathāvir*, TS KS
 TB MŚ *kṛnutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS. VSK. TS KS. TB.
 ŚB MŚ · *iṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛnutāvir* *asmai* AV.

punas te prāna āyāti (AŚ °*lu*, TS † *āyati*) TS TA AŚ

brahmadviṣaṁ dyaur abhisamtapāti AV · *brahmadviṣam abhi tam śocatu*
dyauh RV.

vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, HG *cāryo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB
bhṛjāsi, v. 1 *bhajāsi*, HG *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB HG. ApMB
 The HG reading is uncertain, see Whitney on AV 19 24 6

mama ciltam ciltēnānvehi HG · *mama ciltam upāyasi* AV For other
 similar items see Corie

tābhur vahaimam (TA *vahemam*, TB ApŚ *vahāsi mā*, om *tābhur*, KS. †
vahānsi sāl [read probably *vahāsi mā*]) *sukṛtām yatra* (RV AV
 °*tām u*) *lokāh* (KS *lokah*, RV AV *lokam*) RV AV KS. TB TA
 ApŚ

śivah śagmo bhavāsi nah TB. ApŚ *śivā ca me śagmā candhī* TB. ApŚ
jarām (AV. adds *su*) *gachāsi* (AV. PG *gacha*) *pari dhatsva vāsah* AV
 PG ApMB HG.

sa gharman invāi (AV *indhām*) *parame sadhashe* RV AV

idam me karmedam vīryam putro 'nusamltanotu VSK KŚ *idam me*
'yam vīryam putro 'nusamltanavat ŚB

saputrikāyām jāgratha PG · *yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ

nihāram ca harāsi (VSK °*raṁ niharāsi*) *me* VS VSK. ŚB · *nihāram in*
ni me hara (TS † *harā*) TS KS

jyok putṛṣu āstām (and, *āsatai*) AV. 'Sit she long with her fathers.'

Both in the same hymn; a conscious *vikāra*

uṣā no ahna ā bhajād (and, *ahne pari dadātu*) AV (both)

śṛavad (and: *śrutām*, *śṛavan*) *brahmāny āvasā gamat* (and: *gatām*, *gaman*)
 ŚŚ (all) 'Let him (them) hear the holy words and come with aid'

Here belongs also, presumably.

edhasva yamarājasu AV · *edhāsaṁ yamarāḷye* TA The comm on
edhāsa says, *edhasva vardhasva* (!). The Conc suggests *edhāse*,
 both versions would then mean, 'thrive thou in the kingdom of
 Yama (among those whose king is Yama)'

*Imperative and Subjunctive, without change of tense but with change of
 person*

§153 The particular interest of this subdivision is that 2d person
 imperatives vary constantly with 3d person subjunctives This alter-

nation goes back to RV. itself, see §§93, 95 Metrical convenience is often associated with the shift. A few examples of change of person also occur in the next subdivision.

yathāvaśam tanvam (AV °*vah*) *kalpayasva* (AV. VS °*yāti*) RV. AV. VS 'Fashion (or, may he fashion) the body (bodies) according to his will' The impv. *kalpayatu* would be metrically inferior.

sa no vasūny ā bhara (SV *bharāt*) RV SV AV. VS TS. MS KS 'bring (let him bring) wealth to us' Cf *sa no viśvāny ā bhara* RV. The impv. *bharatu* would be hypermetric

upasadyo namasyo yathāsat (AV *bhaveha*) AV. TS. MS 'That he may be (be thou here) an object of attention and homage.'

pavamāno vy āśnavat (SV °*nā vy āśnuhi*) RV SV.

indrāya pathibhar vahān (MS *vaha*) VS. MS KS. TB.

īha sphātim sam ā vahān (and, *vaha*) AV (both)

bodhā stotre vayo dadhat (ApŚ *vayovṛdhah*) RV SV ApŚ.: *bodhāt stoma* *vayo dadhat* MS There is a v l *bodhā* in MS. See §§24, 341.

āyur no dehi jīvase ŚG *āyur no viśvato dadhat* AV.

tān ādityān anu madā (MS *madāt*) *svastaye* RV. MS. See §315. The reading of MS is uncertain, its p p. has *mada*, if this is the true reading the variant belongs here, if *madā* is 1st pers subj; but it may also be 2d sing impv (so RV. p p).

nṛṣādan no apa durmatim jahī (TS *hanat*) VS. TS MS KS ŚB.

pibātam somīyam madhu RV (quinquies) SV *pibāh so° ma°* RV. (semel) SV

sameddhāram anhasa uruṣyāt (ŚŚ *anhasah pāhi*) RV. ŚŚ.

The following two contain corruptions.

yamasya loke adhiraṣṣjur āyat (TA *āya*; MS *loke nidhur ajarāya*) AV.

MS TA AV has a clear subjunctive, TA's form may possibly be understood as a 2d impv, thematic, MS is hopelessly corrupt

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB *adharo vadāsau vadāt svāhā* HG

The latter is corrupt and must be read as ApMB, as Kirste says *ad loc*

§154 Imperative and Subjunctive with change of tense

apeyam rātry uchatu AV 'let this night fade away', *aped u hāsate tamah* RV 'now may darkness slink away'

tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (MS ŚB ŚŚ. *vanutām*) TS. MS ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ But *vanate* may be pres ind, see §116, 191

so 'dhvarā karati jātavedāh AB *kṛnotu-so adhvārān* (VS TB °*rā*) *jātavedāh* VS. MS KS TB ApŚ 'Let Jātavedas perform the

- sacrifice.' Cf. *ḥṛṇutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ, and *svadhvarā* etc in RV., §95
- prabudhe nah punas* (KS *puras*) *ḥṛdhi* (TS *punar dadah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. Make us again awake', or the like
- sampriyah* (TA **yam prajayā*) *paśubhur bhuwat* (MS ApŚ *bhava*) MS TB TA ApŚ
- māteṽasmā adile śarma yacha* (ŚG. *aditih śarma yansat*) AV TS MS KS TB TA ŚG ApMB
- sammīṣlo aruṣo bhava* (SV *bhuwah*) RV SV
- sa nah pūrnena vāvanat* (AV *yachatu*) AV TS KS ApMB
- ula trātā śivo bhavā* (SV. *bhuwo*) *varūthyah* RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś
- rayim ca nah sarvavīram* (TS † **rām*) *ni yachatu* (AV *yachāt*) AV. TS MS *sa no rayim sarvavīram ni yachatu* VS VSK ŚB *somo rayim sahavīram ni yansat* KS.
- uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat* (AV *yachatu*) RV AV TS KS
- jayatābhīlvarīm jayatābhīlvaryāh* (text, corruptly, **yā*) AŚ · *jeṣathābhīlvarīm jeṣathābhīlvaryāh* KB ŚŚ
- gārhapatyā un no neṣat* TA *gārhapatyā un ninetu* MS
- aviṣam nah pitum kṛnu* (KS *kṛdhi*, TB ApŚ *karat*) VS 2. 20 (omitted in Conc.) TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ The version with *kṛnu* is also found in TB 1 2 1 25d
- ādityair no aditih śarma yansat* (and, *yachatu*) RV (both)
- āyur viśvāyuh pari pāsati* (AV *pātu*) *tvā* RV AV TA
- śam astu tanve mama* AV · *śam v astu tanvat tava* VS *śam u te tanve bhuwat* TS KSA
- [By a slip the Conc quotes *svāveśo anamīvā bhavā nah* (Kauś **mīvā na edhi*) RV TS MS. Kauś SMB PG. ApMB with *bhuwā* as ApMB's reading, but it has *bhavā* like the rest]

Imperative and Injunctive

§155 The opportunity for interchange between these moods is lessened by the fact that their forms are identical at many points of their respective paradigms. Of course this means that our grammatical classifications break down at this point. Despite this, the interchanges are not much less numerous than those between Imperative and Subjunctive. We present them in four groups: first, those which involve no change of tense or person, second, those which involve change of person, third, those with change of tense; fourth, prohibitive clauses with *mā*, a small group of exceptional interest, presenting a rivalry between

these two moods which begins (practically) in the later Vedic texts (cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §579c) and continues thruout classical Sanskrit.

Imperative and Injunctive without change of tense or person

§156. The interchanges in the 2d singular concern in most cases presence or absence of *visarga* (e g *vaha· vahah*) and in all (four) such instances happen to occur at the end of a *pāda*, they may to some extent be due to phonetic indistinctness of *h*, see §25.

viśvasmāt (TA *divo vi*) *śīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA. °yah) RV. TA. 'Deliver him from every evil-doer (of the sky).'

pra-pra yaṇāpatim tira (TA *tirah*) AV. VS. TS MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ Uncertain. Poona ed. of TA. reads *tira* in text and comm recording *tirah* as v. 1 in both. 'Promote farther and farther the patron of the sacrifice.'

ni dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ. *vahah*) AV. ŚŚ 'Bring to the far-famed.'

sūryasya tapas tapa (MS MŚ.† *tapah*) MS TA. ApŚ MŚ. 'Heat the heat of the sun.' But perhaps the second *tapah* is felt as a noun, for MS. accents it as well as the first *tapah*.

asmabhyam indra varivah (AV *varīyah*) *sugam krdhi* RV. AV.: *asma-bhyam mahi varivah sugam kah* RV. See §92.

indro marubān sa dadātu tan me (and, *dadād idam me*) AV. (both).

agnim nakṣanta (SV. °tu) *no gṛah* RV. SV.

ā no viśva (MS. °vā) *āskṛā* (TB. *viśve askṛā*) *gamantu* (MS. °ta) *devāh* RV. MS TB. AŚ.

ābhur (ŚG *mātur*) *anyo 'pa* (ApMB. ŚG. °va) *padyatām* (ŚG. °ta) ApŚ ŚG HG. ApMB.

śrīr me bhajatu TA *śrī me bhajata* MahānU.

alakṣmī me naṣyatu (MahānU. °ta) TA MahānU. Cf. *alakṣmīr me naṣyatām* RVKh

ādityā rudrā vasavo juṣanta (AV. °tām) RV. AV.

(*ud u tvā viśve devā*) *agne bharantu* (MS. also, *bharanta*) *cattibhih* VS. TS MS (both) KS. ŚB.

vāyo ve (TS. ApŚ *vīhi*; Kauś text, erroneously, *vāyave*) *stokānām* (KS † *ve śtolānām*, VSK adds *juṣānah*) VS VSK. TS. KS 3 6 (reference omitted in Conc) ŚB ApŚ

viśve devāh samanaso juṣanta (TS *bhavantu*) RV. TS

ni vo jāmāyo jihatā (ŚŚ °tām) *ny ajāmayah* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May they who are related or not related stoop to you' *jihatā* is 3 pl injunctive But the long *ā*, followed by a nasal consonant, tempts one to read °tām with ŚŚ

aryo naśanta (SV. *nah santu*) *sanīṣanta* (SV.† °tu) *no dhayah* RV SV
See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 72

§157. *Imperative and Injunctive, without change of tense but with change of person*

sam arīr (MS KS *arīr*) *vidām* (KS *vidah*) VS MS KS ŚB 'Let the noble (or, do thou, noble) meet together'

mahyam (in MŚ this belongs to the prec *pāda*) *yajamānāya tīṣṭha* (MŚ ed *tīṣṭhatu*, but mss *tīṣṭhat*, so read) TS MŚ

aṛṣan (SV *aṛṣā*) *mitrasya varunasya dharmanā* RV SV Soma is subject in both, change to direct address in SV

§158 *Imperative and Injunctive, with change of tense* (in a few cases also with change of person)

yajña pratiṣṭha sumatau suśevāh TB ApŚ 'O sacrifice, found thyself upon benevolence, well-disposed', *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāl sumatau matīnām* MŚ 'May the sacrifice found itself upon benevolence of thoughts'

marutām (MS * *sapatnahā ma*°) *prasave* (VS ŚB °vena) *jaya* (TS * *jayata*, TS * TB ApŚ *jeṣam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ 'Conquer (may I conquer, rival-slaying) on the impulse of the Maruts'

samyag āyur yajño (MŚ † *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ *dhāh*) KS. MŚ 'May the sacrifice snugly place life (place thou snugly life, sacrifice) in the patron of the sacrifice'

The rest have no change of person

tvam bhavadhīpatir (AV *bhūr abhībhūtir*) *janānām* AV MS KS
punar ma ātmā punar āyur āgāt (MG *aitu*) TB HG MG Cf. *punar manah āgāt* (āgan) in Conc, and next

punaś cakṣuh punah śrotam na āgan (VSK TA SMB *āgāt*) VS VSK ŚB TA SMB *punaś cakṣuh punar asur na aitu* AV Cf prec
amaṣām cittaṁ prabudhām (TS KS °dhā) *vi neṣat* (KS *nasyatu*) RV AV. TS KS 'Among themselves let their plan thru thy wisdom (or, the plan of the wise) fall thru' AVPPP also has *naśyatu*, the two prec *pādas* in AV are *yagati*

tasya no rāsva tasya no dhehi (AŚ *dāh*) AV AŚ

prajāṁ asmāsu dhehi VS *prajāṁ me dāh* VS TS MS ŚB TA

ojo mayi dhehi VS TB *ojo me dāh* AV VS Similarly in items beginning *saho*, *balam*, *āyur*, *śrotam*, *cakṣur*, *vācam*, *varco*, *tejo*, *payo*, *raṇam*

agne rucām pate mayi rucam dhāh (KS *dhehi*; ApŚ. *rucam mayi dhāh*)
MS KS ApŚ.

ata ū šu madhu madhunābhī yodhi TS *adāh su madhu madhunābhī yodhāh* RV AV SV. AA MŚ For *yodhi* see Whitney, *Grammar* §839, but the form is probably corrupt, see §25
yaśo bhagaś ca mā vdat PG *yaśo bhagasya* (read, *bhagaś ca*) *vndatu* ArŚ

§159 Imperative and Injunctive in Prohibitive clauses with *mā*

mā savyena dakṣiṇam atikrāmāh (GG °*krāma*) GG HG 'Do not cross the right (foot) with the left'

mā yñātāram mā pratiṣṭhām vdata (AG † *vndantu*) AV AG 'Let them find no acquaintance, no support' It is significant that the late text AG changes the *inj* to *impv*

mā somam pātu asomapah Kauś *mā pāt* (text, *yāt*!) *somam asomapah* LŚ 'Let the non-soma-drinker not drink the soma'

mā nah soma hvarito vīhvarasva MŚ [so probably to be read, with Conc.; Knauer's text, *harivo* (cm for mss *hvarivo*, Knauer in a private letter suggested 'read *hvarito*, certainly') *vīhvarasva* (mss *vīhvara-dhvam*, one ms °*dhva*)], 'do not, O soma, fail, having gone wrong'; *mā no gharma vyathito vvyadhī* (TA *vvyatho nah*) MS TA. 'do not, O hot drink (let not the hot drink), when shaken, injure (shake) us' Somewhat uncertain, because of the bad condition of MŚ, see §332

Imperative and Optative

§160. This class is smaller than the preceding and subdivision is unnecessary. There is but one case of change of tense, the first example; but change of person is frequent. A certain predilection for the imperative rather than the optative in the second person is noticeable.

aredatā (KS 5 3 *ahedatā* (by conjecture in ed, but read *are*° with v Schroeder on 32 3, n 3) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ *gamyāt*) MS KS (bis) ApŚ 'With undisturbed mind go thou (may he go) to the gods'

agnir dikṣitāh pṛthivī dikṣā sā mā dikṣā dikṣayatu (JB *dikṣeta*) JB. ApŚ. 'The consecrated one is Agni, the consecration is earth, let that consecration consecrate me' The same with *vāyur dikṣitah, ādityo dikṣitah, praṇāpatir* etc, see ApŚ 10 10. 6.

arāṅśasā manasā taj juṣeta (KS *juṣetāh*; TS MS *juṣasva*) RV. VS. TS MS KS ŚB

pratiṣṭhām gacha (GB *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhāni mā gamaya* (GB *gamayet*)

AB. GB Gaastra on GB p 42 considers its reading corrupt and would read as AB.

svargam arvanto jayema Vait : *svargān arvanto jayata* SV. ŚŚ. *svagān*(!) *ar° jayatah* AŚ. (corrupt)

mitrāya havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (KS. *°vad vidhema*) RV KS MŚ. N.

satyāya havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (TS. KS *°vad vidhema*) TS KS. TB ApŚ

tasmā u havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (TS ApMB. *°vad vidhema*) TS ŚŚ ŚG

ApMB : *dhātra id dhavyam ghṛtavaj juhota* AŚ

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmṛjyam gacha* (VSK *gachātāi*, MŚ. *gachel*) VS. VSK TS ŚB. MŚ

bharatam uddharem anuṣṭīca (MŚ *uddharema vanuṣantu?*) TB ApŚ. MŚ. See §304.

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ *°yadhvam*) TS. TB. ApŚ MŚ. *nākasya prṣṭhe sam iṣā madema* AV.

havyā no asya haviṣah śṛnotu (AV. *haviṣo juṣeta*, TS *haviṣah ciketu*, ŚŚ *haviṣah kṛnotu*) AV. TS MS. KS AŚ ŚŚ

āyajātām (MŚ *āyajeyātām*) *ejyā iṣah* VS. MS KS ŚB TB AŚ MŚ

āvyaṣam jāgrātā aham AV. *dvyuṣam jāgrīyād aham* RVKh So Conc., following Aufrecht for RVKh, but Scheftelowitz reports that his ms reads *jāgrīyāmy*, and he emends to *jāgrīyām*, which seems the only possible reading.

Imperative and Precative

§161. The precative is merely an aorist optative and does not differ, in the Veda, from the regular optative in any way. It interchanges with the imperative about a dozen times, with or without change of person:

agne tejasvīn tejasvī tvam deveṣu bhūyāh TS. *agna āyuhkārāyushmāns tvam tejasvān deveṣu edhi* MS 'O Agni be thou brilliant among the gods'

āyur dātra edhi VS. ŚB ŚŚ 'be thou life to the giver'; *mayo dātre bhūyāt* MS 'let there be delight to the giver' Cf next

vayo dātre (KS PB. add *bhūyān*, VSK. *dātra edhi*) *mayo mahyam* (TB TA. ApŚ *mahyam astu*) *pratiṅrahitre* VSK KS PB. TB. TA ApŚ. Cf. prec

durmitrās (*°itryās*, *°itryās*) *tasmai santu* (KS * TB TA. MahānU BDh *bhūyāsur*) *yo 'smān* (MS *asmān*) *dveṣti* VS TS MS KS (bis) ŚB. TB. TA. AŚ ŚŚ LŚ. MahānU. BDh.

druhaḥ pāśān (TS. KS pāśān) prati sa (KS ṣū) mucīṣta (AV prati muñcalām sah) RV. AV TS MS. KS

yo no dvesty adharah sas padīṣta (MS MŚ sa padyatām) RV AV MS.

KS (The ms of KS sas; ed wrongly emends to sa)

yena tram deva veda (ŚŚ tvam veda) devebhyo vedo 'bhavas tena mahyam (ŚŚ tenāsmabhyam) vedo bhūyāh (VSK bhava, ŚŚ veda edh) VS. VSK ŚB ŚŚ

suyame me (ApŚ me adya ghrīdāci) bhūyāstam VS ApŚ : sūyame me 'dya stam MS

bahvīr me bhavata (TS bhūyāsta) TS KS bahvīr bhavata MS

yathendram dauvīr viśo maruto 'nuvartmāno 'bhavann (TS 'nuvartmāna) evam imam yajamānam dauvīs ca viśo mānuṣīś cānuvartmāno bhavantu (VSK bhūyāsuḥ) VS VSK TS MS KS

achīdraḥ prajāyā bhūyāsam ApŚ ApMB HG cf ariṣtā asmākam vīrāḥ santu ApŚ ApMB ariṣtās tanvo bhūyāsma (text, bhuyāḥ sma) LŚ.

śunam ma iṣtam . bhūyāt MS . svam ma iṣtam astu KS

saṁjīvā (°jivikā) nāma stha tā imam (AŚ imam amum) saṁjīvayata MS.

AŚ ApŚ.. saṁjīvā stha saṁjīvyāsam AV

sā me satyāśīr deveṣu bhūyāt (Vait °ṣv astu) TS Vait

Imperative and Future

§162. The future is, in general, more certain than any of the moods (Delbruck, *AI Synt* 289), but, whenever a future form deals with an event in the future that is not considered quite certain, the barrier between it and the moods falls. And, like other indicatives, it is used in the Veda of things which the poets represent as more certain than they really are, for tactical (magical) reasons. Only a couple of interchanges between it and the imperative have been noted, but compare below the interchanges of future with subjunctive, optative, and precativ. vāg ārtvīyam karīṣyati (ApŚ karotu) ŚŚ ApŚ 'Speech will (shall) do the office of priest' Unmetrical, but ŚŚ is made to simulate meter. rāyaś ca poṣam upasañvīyayasva AV HG ApMB . rayim ca putrān anusamvīyayasva PG : rāyas poṣam abhi samvīyayīṣye PG. MG. 'Wrap thyself (I shall wrap myself) up in prosperity of wealth'

§163. Imperative and Infinitive

dyumnam (KS. also, °ne) vṛñta puṣyase (KS vareta puṣyatu) RV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB 'May he choose glory, that he may thrive (let him thrive).'

brāhmanāns tarpayitavā it̥ sampreṣyati ApŚ 4. 16 17 *brāhmanāns tarpayeti preṣyati* MŚ. 'He gives the order, Treat the brahmans' This use of the infinitive in direct discourse (not immediately depending on a verb of command, in which case the infin would be regular, see Delbruck, *Altindisches Verbum* §27, Speyer, *Ved u. Skt Synt* §217) seems to be peculiar to ApŚ, where it occurs at least twice more *uccaḥ samāhantavā it̥ sampreṣyati* 1. 20 1, 'he gives the order, Beat loudly together', and *triṣ phalīkṛitavā it̥ sampreṣyati* 1. 20 11, 'he gives the order, Thrice clean the grain' On the last the comm says *phalīkṛanam triḥ kṛitavyam ity arthah*. The *it̥* in such phrases seems to exclude the infinitive from direct government by the verb of command. Nevertheless the infin of command is doubtless the elliptical residue of an infin dependent on a verb of command [if it is not, after all, felt as governed by the following *sampreṣyati*, despite the *it̥*, such illogical mixture of direct and indirect forms of speech is not unknown—F. E.] For the general and comparative aspects of the infin. as impv. see Delbruck, *Vergl Synt* 2 453ff.

IV IMPERATIVE SECOND SINGULAR IN *sī* AND (?) *se*

§164. In the Rigveda occur a number of modal forms restricted to the 2d singular, they are formed by adding *sī* directly to the strong form of the root without other stem or mood formative. See Whitney, *Grammar* §624, Delbruck, *Altindisches Verbum* §30, *Altindische Syntax* 365, Speyer, *Ved u. Skt Synt* §188, n. 2, Neisser, *BB* 7. 230 ff. Imperative value is generally assigned to them, because they are frequently accompanied by other impv. forms in the same sentence. Now it is interesting to note that our repetitions do in fact, in a case or two, substitute an impv. form for such a form in *sī*, and further that forms in *sī* are not entirely limited to passages occurring in the RV

deva somaṁśa te lokas tasmāñ cham ca vakṣva pari ca vakṣva (VSK *lohaḥ pari ca vakṣi śam ca vakṣi*, ŠBK *tasmāñ cham pari ca vakṣi sam ca vakṣi*) VS VSK ŠB ŠBK. Cf. *śam ca vakṣi pari ca vakṣi* MS TA ApŚ 'This is thy station, god Soma, in it thrive thou well and thoroly.' The verb concerned seems to be *vakṣ* 'grow', tho Mahidhara on VS refers the form to *vah* 'carry' In either case we have a modal 2d person in *sī*, exchanging with an impv. in *sva*, and that in YV. texts only

dhīyā na (SV. *no*) *vājāñ upa māsi* (SV. *māhi*) *śaśvataḥ* RV. SV Cf next

stuto yāsi (RV. *yāhi*) *vaśān anu* RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. 'Praised, O Indra, go after our desire.' In this and the prec., of course, the forms in *si* may be construed as indicative (so Keith on TS). Yet the atmosphere of the passages, together with the unambiguous impv. of the variant forms, seems to suggest modal value

sam indra no (no) *manasā neṣi* (AV. *neṣa*) *gobhīh* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AVPpp. reads *neṣi*, showing that *neṣa* (aor. impv.) is a somewhat precarious nonce-formation

Of equal interest is the substitution in TS of a form in *si* for a RV. injunctive, it is the more remarkable because it occurs in a subordinate clause (introduced by *yad*)

pīṭn yakṣad (TS *yakṣy*) *ṛtāvṛdhah* RV. VS. TS. KS. 'When he shall (thou shalt) sacrifice to the fathers who prosper the *ṛta*'

§165. We append here a couple of cases in which forms in *se* interchange with imperatives in *dhī* (*hi*). It is possible that the *se*-forms are modal (imperative, or subjunctive?) middle forms corresponding to the actives in *si*, but the forms are isolated and ambiguous. Perhaps here belongs *dhūse*; see §219, *viśvā adhī śriyo* etc

indro vide tam u stuṣe (Mahānāmnyah *stuhī*) AA. Mahānāmnyah 'Indra finds, him do thou praise' But *stuṣe* may mean 'I praise'; so Keith

kṛṣm susasyām ut kṛṣe (KS *kṛdhī*) MS. KS. MŚ. 'The furrow, well-grown with grain, draw thou up' The verb is problematic in form and meaning, one is almost led to suspect that both *kṛṣe* and *kṛdhī* are from *kṛṣ* 'plow' (')

V SUBJUNCTIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§166. The subjunctive exchanges with the indicative (§§117ff, 124, 131, 137, 140, 145, a, d, f), the imperative (§151ff.), and further with injunctive, optative, precative, future, and desiderative. The first persons, as already remarked, do duty also as imperatives; we treat them here rather than as impvs. In principal clauses there is no perceptible difference between the subj and its rival moods. In dependent clauses the 2d person impv. does not alternate with subjs (§95, note 11), but the 1st, 3d person impv., inj. and opt. are fairly common and normal.

Subjunctive and Injunctive

§167. Alternation between these moods is not very rare, particularly in principal clauses, and there are a few cases of subordinate clauses which we have classified here. Included are some cases with coincident

change of tense and person, and there is a single instance of a prohibitive clause with *mā*. Some of the forms which we have classified as injunctives may, of course, be regarded perhaps equally well as preterite indicatives without augment, in that case they would belong in §§131, 137, 145.

tasmat devā adhi bravan (MS KS. TB. [comm. and Poona ed. text]

ApŚ *bruvan*) VS TS. MS. KS TB. ApŚ. 'May the gods bless him'

tasmat somo adhi bravat (KS. *bruvat*) RV AV. KS

pra bravāma (MS *bru°*, v. 1 *bra°*) *śaradah śatam* VS MS TA. ApMB. HG. MG.

upa śravat (MS *śruvat*, p p. *śravat*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV. MS. 'May the blessed (Sarasvatī) listen to us at this sacrifice.' *śruvat*, if not merely a corruption, is a tentative and precarious formation modelled on forms like *bruvat* in the two preceding cases, see §23 where such cases are considered from the phonetic point of view.

agnir havyāni sūvadat RV : *agnir havyā sūśūdat* RV.

iṣam ūrjam anyā vakṣat (TB * *ṛvākṣit*) VS MS KS. TB 'Let one bring refreshment and food'

prācinam sīdat (MS. *sīdat*) *pradīśa pṛthivyāh* VS MS KS TB

yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar asmat TA *yajñāpataye vāryam ā svas* lah MS. *yajñāpataye vasu vāryam āsamśkarase* ŚŚ

pra śmaśru (SV. *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvatā bhūt* (SV. *ūrdhvatā bhuvat*) RV. SV. So to be classed if *bhuvat* is a subjunctive from the root-aorist (*a*)*bhūt*. But augmented forms in *-vat* occur (see Whitney, *Roots*), and both forms may be injunctive, or indeed preterite indic. Cf. next

sa tvaitebhyah parī dadat (TA *dadat*) *pitr̥bhyah* RV AV TA N 'He shall hand thee over to these manes' Both forms ambiguous, somewhat as in the preceding

§168. In subordinate clauses the subjunctive is much commoner than the injunctive (cf. §§124f), but some cases of the latter seem to occur, besides those similar forms which we have preferred to regard as preterite indicatives exchanging with subjunctives (§145).

āyusmān (AV *°mān*) *jaradaśtir yathāsam* (AV. *°sānti*) RVKh VS AV. *yathāśat* AV AG PG ApMB. See Cone for similar pādas

'That I (he) may reach old age' The pāda occurs in four different verses. one in RVKh VS, two different ones in AV., and a fourth in the Gṛhya texts

yad itī mām atimanyadhvam HG. *yadī mām atimanyādhvat* ApMB 'When (if) you (thus) disdain me'

yatra (SV. *yatrā*) *devā itī bruvan* (SV. *bruvan*) RV. SV. 'Where people may say "gods".' Of course *bruvan* may be considered indic.

The single case of a prohibitive with *mā* is—

sakhyāi te mā yoṣam TB ApŚ ApMB HG. 'May I not be separated from thy friendship' *sakhyam te mā yoṣāḥ* SMB. 'do not withhold thy friendship'

Subjunctive and Optative

§169. This interchange is most frequent in first-person forms, where the subj. also does duty as impv. But the following examples include several of 3d person, and others, as well as one of 2d person, will be found among the interchanges of more than two modal forms, §104 above. Several cases occur in subordinate clauses. One case involves change of tense. See also §96 for a RV case.

vidād (SV *vided*) *ūrjam śatakratur vidād* (SV *vided*) *iṣam* RV. SV. 'May (Indra) the possessor of hundred-fold wisdom obtain food, obtain refreshment'

imā nu kam bhuvanā sīśadhāma (SV TA. ApŚ. MŚ °*dhema*) RV. AV. SV. VS AB. KB. GB AA. TA. MŚ. ApŚ. AŚ ŚŚ Vait. 'Let us now bring success to these worlds'

śṛṇuyāma (TA ApMB. HG. *śṛṇavāma*) *śaradah śalam* VS. MS. TA. PG. MG ApMB. HG.

bhavāma (AV *bhavema*) *śaradah śalam* AV TA ApMB. HG.

vibhum kāmam (VS. *vibhūn kāmān*) *vy aśnavat* (MS. *aśīya*) VS MS KS. TB.

athainam jarimā nayet HG : *yathainam jarase nayāt* AV.

In the last the subj. occurs in a subordinate clause, which is made a principal clause with the opt. form. In the following both forms occur in subordinate clauses:

(*bhūmyā vṛtvāya no brūhī*) *yataḥ khanema* (TS *khanāma*) *tam vayam* VS TS MS KS.

yasyām uśantah praharāma (AV. ApMB HG °*rema*) *śepam* (AV. *śepah*) RV AV PG. ApMB HG. N. 'In whom (the bride) we may eagerly insert the member'

yathā pumān bhaved iha MŚ.: *yatheha puruṣo 'sat* (SMB *puruṣaḥ syāt*) VS ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś SMB.

§170. *Subjunctive and Precative*

aḥam evedam sarvaṃ asāni (ŚB BrhU. °*vam bhūyāsam*) ŚB. BrhU. ChU 'May I myself be (or become) this entire world.'

yan madhuno tenāham madhuno 'sāni (HG bhūyāsam) PG ApMB
HG

§171. Subjunctive and Future

varaṇo vārayātai (and, vārayiṣyate) AV (both) 'the (amulet) made of
varana-wood shall defend' varuno (but Poona ed with comm
varano) vāri-yāt TA.

bhavāsi putrānām mātā AV leṣām mātā bhaviṣyasi ŚG
agnau kariṣyāmi GG BDh agnau karavāni ViDh. And others, see
§41

vācaspace vāco vīryena sambhṛtata menāyakṣase (TA °yakṣyase, ŚŚ
°yachase) MS TA ŚŚ See §27

pra ca havyāni vakṣyasi TS pred u havyāni vocati RV VS KS 'Thou
shalt (he shall) announce the oblations.'

§172. Subjunctive and (Subjunctive of) Desiderative

brahma vā yah kriyamānam niniṣāt (AV vā yo niniṣat kriyamānam)
RV AV 'Or whoso shall (seek to) blaspheme our holy charm as
it is being performed'

VI MIXED IMPERATIVE-SUBJUNCTIVE FORMS

§173. Of all genuinely modal interrelations that between impv and subj is the most frequent This intimacy between the two has gained formal expression in the Vedic language in occasional mixed imperative-subjunctive forms Thus *nudātu* is a blend of *nudatu*, impv, and *nudāti*, subj No less certainly *karatu* is a blend of subj *karati* and impv *karotu* The function of this blend corresponds to its form Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §§740, 752c In §104, p, we have quoted several variants showing all three types, true subj, true impv, and mixed Here we append others in which the mixed form varies with subjunctive alone

sa dr̥ṣto mṛdayāti (MS † °tu, VSK mṛlayāti) nah VS VSK TS MS KS
'May he, when seen, be gracious unto us'

dīrgham āyuh karati (TA °tu) jīvase vāh RV TA

viśve no devā avasā gamantu RV VS TS viśve no (KS mā) devā avasā
gamann iha RV VS MS KS ApŚ Since the thematic aorist
agamat is rare and dubious in the Samhitās, it is best to classify
the Samhitā form *gamantu* here, rather than as impv to aor *agam-*
-t. Cf however *gamat sa (gamema)* . in §174.

tapto vām gharṃ nakṣatī (AV *nakṣatu*) *svahotā* AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
sa no muñcātu (RV SV. *rakṣiṣad*) *duritād avadyā* RV. SV. TA.
ādityar indrah saha śiṣadhātu (VS. °h, RV. AV. *ciklṣpāti*) RV. AV. SV.
 VS TA MŚ ApŚ
 [so 'syar (MG 'syāh) *prajāṃ muñcatu mṛtyupāśāt* AG SMB. PG.
 ApMB HG MG. Conc erroneously quotes *muñcātu* for SMB]

VII. INJUNCTIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§174. The injunctive alternates with indicative (§§120, 125, 132, 138, 141, 145, b, e), imperative (§§155ff), subjunctive (§§167f.), and optative. There is one case of a prohibitive with *mā* in which one text anomalously replaces an inj with an opt, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §579b. Occasionally there is a shift of tense along with that of mood.

Injunctive and Optative

ā mā prānena saha varcasā gan (AV. *gamet*) AV TS MS KS 'May he come to me along with life-breath and strength.' AV comm also *gan*; MS p p *agan*.
asyām ṛdhad (ŚB AŚ *ṛdheḍ*) *dhotrāyām devamgamāyām* MS ŚB TA. AŚ ŚŚ 'May he succeed in this sacrifice that goes to the gods'
ivayā (VSK TS KS TB omit) *vayam samghālam-samghālam* (TS TB. omit one *samghālam*, VSK *samghāle-samghāle*) *jeṣma* (KS † once *samjayema*, once *jayema*) VS VSK TS MS KS. ŚB TB. '(Thru thee) may we be victorious in every fight'
gamat sa (and. *gamema*, *sa gantā*) *gomat vraje* RV (all) 'He (we) shall go to a stall rich in cattle' *gamat* is commonly taken as subjunctive of a root aorist, but in view of *gamema*, which can only be opt of an a-aorist, we class it as inj of that type
tena vayam gamema (TS MS KS *patema*, VSK *tena gamema*) *bradh-nasya viṣṭapam* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB *tena geṣma sukrāśya lokam* AV
nedīya it ṣṛnyah (TS † °yā) *pakvam eyāt* (TS MS KS *āyat*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N
na pāpavāya rāśīya (SV *ransiṣam*) RV AV. SV The SV. reading is doubtless an unsuccessful attempt to improve the meter
pra tad voced (TA MahānU. *voce*) *amṛtasya* (VS TA MahānU. *amṛtam nu*) *vidvān* AV VS TA MahānU In AV, 'may (the *gandharva*) knowing of the immortal proclaim that' TA comm *provāca* (3d person!) The form *voce* seems well-nigh uninterpretable, the comm seems to be thinking of the 3d sing perf mid *ūce*

The single case of prohibitive with *mā* is:

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (MS *ghanayīd*; TS *dhvanayīd*; KSA. *dhvanayed*)
dhūmagandhīh RV. VS TS MS, KSA 'Let not the fire, smoke-
 scented, make thee crackle', or the like On *dhvanayīd* see §285

VIII OPTATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§175. The optative interchanges with indicatives (§§121, 126, 133, 142), imperative (§160), subjunctive (§170), injunctive (§174), precat-
 tive, and future

Optative and Precative

The precative is itself only an aorist optative of specialized type It interchanges mostly with the present optative, less often with the aorist optative. Some of the forms classed as precatives are, of course, necessarily indistinguishable from regular aorist optatives, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §§568, 921f; these interchanges might therefore be classed under §210, d

tābhyām (MS KS. add *vayam*) *patema sukrīlām u lōlam* (Kauś *pathy-
 āsma sukrītasya lōlam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś 'With these two
 (wings) may we fly to the world of the pious'

trayāyam vītram vadhyāt (VSK *badhyāt*, VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK. TS
 MS KS ŚB. 'Thru thee may he slay Vītra'

anu vīrair anu puṣyāsma (TB ApŚ *rādhyāma*) *gobhīh* VS TB ApŚ
 'May we thrive with heroic sons and cattle.'

jīveyam ŚB : *jīvyāsam* AV

sam aham āyusā sam varcasā sam prajāyā (ŚŚ adds, *sam priyena
 dhāmnā*) *sam rāyas poṣena gṛīya* (VS ŚB ŚŚ *gṛīṣya*) VS MS
 KS But, of course, *gṛīṣya* may be considered an ī-aorist

śrīṇīdīyā aham deṭayajyayā paśumān (ApŚ. °*matī*) *bhūyāsam* (MS
paśūn īndeyam) ApŚ MS Similarly with *kuhrā*, and *rālāyā*

suprajāh prajāyā bhūyāsam (ApMB * *bhūyās*) VSK TS ApŚ
 ApMB HG. *suprajāh prajābhīh syām* (VS. and ŚB also *syāma*;
 ŚŚ *prajābhīr bhūyāsam*). VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

priyo dātūr dakṣiṇāyā iha syām AV *priyo devānām dakṣiṇāyā dātūr
 iha bhūyāsam* VS

bhūyāma te sumatau rājino vayam RV. SV. *bhūyāma te sumatau rīṣṭa-
 edah* MS (so read, for Conc °*redāh*, the text has °*redā* followed by
 a vowel, which by the peculiar sandhi of MS means °*redah*)

bhūyāema (SB. KŚ. °*yāma*) *putrāih paśubhīh* SB KŚ AŚ ApŚ ApMB.
 BDh

sahasrapoṣam vah puṣyāsam (KS. puṣeyam; MS. vo 'śīya) TS MS. KS.

HG : sahasrapoṣam puṣeyam VS. ŚB

dyāvāprthivyor aham devayajyajobhāyor lokayor ṛdhyāsam (KS.* devayajyayā prajanīṣeyam prajāyā paśubhiḥ, KS * MŚ devayajyayā prajānīṣya prajāyā paśubhiḥ) KS. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. Note the anomalous (thematic) aor. opt. prajānīṣeyam.

ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāśma LŚ . ariṣṭāḥ syāma tanvā swīrāḥ RV. AV. TS KS

ā mā stutasya stulam gamyāt (Vart. gamet) TS. Vart . ā mā slotrasya slotram gamyāt PB.

api jāyeta so 'smākam ViDh : api nah sa kule bhūyāt MDh.

tasya te bhaktivānsaḥ syāma (MS KS bhaktivāno bhūyāśma) AV MS.

KS : tasya te vāyam bhūyīṣṭhabhājo bhūyāśma ApŚ. tasyās te bhakṣivānah syāma (MS KS bhaktivāno bhūyāśma, ApŚ 'vānsa bhūyāśma, AŚ bhāgam aśimahi) MS KS TB ApŚ AŚ.

vāmī te samdṛṣi viśvam reto dheṣīya (KS dheṣīya) MS KS.: viśvasya te viśvavato vṛṣṇyāvataḥ tavāgne vāmī anu samdṛṣi viśvā relānsi dheṣīya TS vāmī nāma samdṛṣi viśvā vāmāni dhīmahi JB. All the verb-forms are ambiguous, and dhīmahi doubly so, since it might be injunctive; see Whitney, Grammar §837b.

Optative and Future

tau yuñjāta (AV. yokṣye) prathamau yoga āgate AV. SV. 'These two may be (I shall) first yoke up (employ) when the conjuncture arrives' The AV. (vulgate) mss. all read yokṣe, Ppp yokṣye.

IX. PRECATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§176. The precativ interchange with indicatives (§§121, 133), imperative (§161), subjunctive (§169), optative (§175), and future Two of the three forms here classed as precatives might, however, also be considered aor optative.

Precative and Future

juṣṭām adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam (ŚŚ. vācam vadiṣyāmi) ŚB. ŚŚ.

ApŚ 'Let me (I shall) speak this day speech pleasing to the gods' madhu vanṣīṣya (ŚŚ vanṣīṣye) AV. ŚŚ 'May I (I shall) win honey.'

Whitney would read vanṣīṣya in AV Cf. Bloomfield and Spieker, JAOS 13, cxviii

madhu janīṣye (AV janīṣya) AV TS TA ŚŚ . madhu kariṣyāmi madhu janayīṣyāmi madhu bhavīṣyati JB.

X FUTURE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§177. The future interchanges with aorist indicative (§134), imperative (§162), subjunctive (§171), optative (§175, end), precative (just above), and desiderative, and in one doubtful case we may have a future indicative exchanging with a future subjunctive. See also under Tense for interchange of future with other indicative tenses (§234), and see §248a for verbal nouns in *tā*, simulating the later periphrastic future, exchanging with various finite verb forms

yad vādāsyān samjagārā jānebhyah TB *adāsyann agna uta samgrnāmi* AV *aditsan vā samjagara jānebhyah* TA 'If I promise, not intending to give, to people', or the like. Participles are here concerned

paridhāsyai yaśo dhāsyai (MG *paridhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē*) PG. MG If the PG. contains finite verb-forms, they must be future subjunctives (Whitney, *Grammar* §938) But Stenzler and Oldenberg follow the Hindu comm in taking *-dhāsyai* as an infinitive (and *yaśodhāsyai* as a compound). Cf §134

XI DESIDERATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§178. The desiderative—by definition modal in force—exchanges with indicative aorist (§135) and future (§177), and it forms a subjunctive of its own which varies with another subjunctive (§172)

XII INFINITIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH IMPERATIVE

§178a. See §163.

SUMMARY OF MODAL INTERCHANGES IN DEPENDENT AND OTHER NON-CATEGORICAL CLAUSES

§179. Starting with the observation that the subjunctive is the favorite in relative clauses, we note (§122) that the 2d sing impv is certainly excluded from that construction. This does not apply to the other numbers of the 2d person impv, which are identical in form with injunctives, as may be seen from the example in §168, *yad it mām atimanyadhvam* HG, *yad mām atimanyādhvāi* ApMB, 'when (if) you (thus) disdain me'. The true or exclusive imperative forms, not capable of confusion with either subj or inj, are (in the active) the 2d and 3d singular and the 3d plural only. They occur, if only rarely, in prohibitive clauses (§159), and the third person also in relative clauses

(§§122f) We here use the term 'relative' in a broad sense to include clauses introduced by conjunctions derived from the stem *ya-*, as *yadī*, *yathā*, *yad*, *yatra*, *yatah*. Understood in this sense we find the following:

§180. *Interchanges of moods in relative clauses*

Present Indicative and Imperative, §123

Present Indicative and Subjunctive, §124

Present Indicative and Injunctive, §125

Present Indicative and Optative, §126

Preterite Indicatives and modal forms (mostly subjunctives), §145

Subjunctive and Injunctive, §168

Subjunctive and Optative, §169

Subjunctive and Desiderative Subjunctive, §172

§181. *Interchanges of moods and tenses in prohibitive clauses with mā*

Augmented and augmentless Preterites, §146

Perfect Indicative and Injunctive, §147

Imperative and Injunctive, §159

Subjunctive and Injunctive, §168

Injunctive and Optative, §174, end

Cf also the interchange between present and aorist prohibitive injunctives, §§209, 211

§182. To show at a glance the possible variations in prohibitive clauses with *mā*, we group examples of them here. The result is a mosaic of unexpected modal variety

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat śraddhā me mā vyāgāt, §146

ganān me mā vi kīrṣaḥ (°ṣat) ganān me mā vy arīrṣaḥ, §146

mā tvā ke cin ni (cid vi) yaman vim (ke cin ni yemur in, ke cin nyemur in) na pāśinah, §147

mā savyena dakṣiṇam atikrāmīh (°kīāma), §159

mā jñātāram mā pratisthām vidanta (vīdantu), §159

mā nah soma hvarito vihvarasva mā no ghaīma vyathito vivyadhāt (vivyatho nah), §159

mā somam pātī asomapah mā pāt somam asomapah, §159

sakhyāt te mā yoṣam sakhyam te mā yoṣāh, §168

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (dhanayīd, dhvanayīd, dhanayed) dhūmagandhah, §174, end

grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (vepīdhvam), §211

mā tvā vrkṣaḥ (°ṣau) sam bādhiṣta (bādhiṣtām, bādhetām), §211

mainam agne v daho mābhīśocaḥ (°śūśucaḥ), §211

mainām arcīṣā mā tapasābhi (*mainām tapasā mārcaṣābhi*) *śocīḥ* (*śocaḥ, śūśucaḥ*), §211

§183. *Interchange of moods in interrogative and lest-clauses*

In one interrogative clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with a subjunctive:

(*apām napād āśuhemā kunt sa*) *supēśasas karatī* (*karotī*) *joṣiṣad dhi*

In one lest-clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with a subjunctive:

mā mā hāsīn (*hāsīr*) *nāthuto nel* (*na*) *tvā jahāni* (°*mi*).

CHAPTER IV. THE TENSES. INTERCHANGE BETWEEN TENSES AND TENSE-SYSTEMS

§184 Tense interchange in the Vedic Variants may be treated, in its formal and functional aspects, under three heads:

1 Interchanges between different formations of the same tense. In general these are devoid of functional distinction. This is true alike of the present and the aorist systems. Except that the reduplicated aorist is associated with causative meaning (Whitney, *Grammar* §856)—and even this exception is by no means a hard and fast rule, as the variants show—the aorist, thruout the history of Sanskrit as of the other Indo-European languages, does not make any functional differentiation of its various formal types. Nor do our variants throw any light on the rare and precarious instances in which different present-systems from the same root are accompanied by genuine differences of meaning, as in the perfective *bharati* 'carry to': imperfective *bibharti* 'carry, wear'; see Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 11. cxxvi ff.; Delbrück, *AI Synt.* 274ff. So far as the variants show, the interchanges between present systems are quite devoid of distinctions of meaning.

2 Interchanges between identical subordinate moods of different tenses, especially present and aorist. These, again, do not manifest the slightest difference in sense. Thus, *patim me kevalam kṛdhi (kuru)*, 'make him solely my husband'. We have encountered this tense variation as a very frequent accessory to modal variation in the chapter on moods; see above, §154, etc. The cases there presented included only those in which mood as well as tense was shifted, as in *uruvyaçā no mahiṣaḥ śarma yansat (yachatu)*, §154, where an aorist subjunctive varies with a present imperative. In the present chapter we shall deal with instances in which the mood remains constant, while the tense changes.

3. True interchange of tense, that is to say, interchange in the indicative forms, which (at least in the Veda) do have more or less clearly recognizable differences of meaning. This involves interchanges between present, aorist, imperfect, and perfect, and to some extent future, altho in our view the Vedic use of the future makes it more a mood than a tense and we have accordingly treated it chiefly in the chapter on moods, but see below, §234

We begin with the first of these classes, which involves two subdivisions: a. Interchange between the Present systems, and b between the Aorist systems

1. INTERCHANGES BETWEEN DIFFERENT FORMATIONS OF THE SAME TENSE

a Interchanges between different Present systems

§185. Interchanges between present systems are carried on in a fairly live fashion, and without the least distinction in meaning between the correspondents. To some extent they represent old established correspondences, such as between the various nasal presents. This is in continuation of prehistoric conditions, largely dependent on the organic derivation of the various nasal classes from different types of 'disyllabic roots' or bases. See Gustav Meyer, *Die mit nasalen gebildeten praesensstämme* (Jena, 1873), de Saussure, *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indoeuropéennes* 239ff.; Hirt, *Ablaut* 76ff. The nasal classes show also a considerable tendency to interchange with other present classes. Next in importance are the transitions from non-thematic to thematic conjugation, part of a wide movement thruout the history of Hindu speech. In a root or two (*mṛd*, *hū*) the accented *a*-class interchanges with ungunated *aya*-presents, the latter being structurally or chronologically more archaic (*hwayāmi* = Avestan *šwayemi*). Intransitive *ya*-verbs show a somewhat marked tendency to replace other types in late texts; cf Delbruck, *AltSynt* 277. There are some interchanges which involve different phonetic treatment of one and the same root, producing the effect of different present systems, such as interchange between *ramnātu* and *ranvatu*, *ūrnūhi* and *vṛṇu*, *dhvarati* and *dhūrvati*. Above all loom about forty interchanges between the stems *kṛno-* and *karo-*, involving tangled chronological conditions. And finally there are interchanges between any one and any other system. We shall treat these matters in the approximate order of their frequency or importance, beginning with *kṛno* 'karo

The stems *kṛno* (*kṛṇu*) and *karo* (*kuru*)

§186 Of these two stems, *kṛno-* is guaranteed as a prehistoric form by the Avestan *kərənaomī*. No less certainly is *karo-* of ancient organic structure (disyllabic base **kerey*), as is shown by *-kūr-min*, *kār-ara*, and the analogous formation *tarute*. See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 16 cix = *BB* 23 110, Hirt, *Ablaut* 114. The early hieratic language adopted

kṛno-, whereas *karo-* seems likely to have been the true popular form at all times. In the prevailingly hieratic parts of the RV. we find, accordingly, *kṛno-*. On the other hand, however, the AV., tho fundamentally and prevailingly popular, does not favor *karo-* as we should expect. Whitney's Index to the AV. shows that *kṛno-* is much the commoner stem, and this is perhaps made even more striking by the evidence of the variants, in which, even tho the other texts (largely popular) read *karo-*, the AV. overwhelmingly favors *kṛno-* (in 13 out of 14 cases, only one *karo-*!). It is quite clear that in this respect, as in some others, AV., which shares many hieratic passages with RV., has come under the influence of its diction. (It is to be noted, however, that of the passages among the variants showing *kṛno-* in AV., only one is borrowed from RV. Evidently AV. adopted the hieratic stem very definitely as its own. The passages are grouped just below.) Analogously, we find even in some very late texts that *kṛno-* forms are substituted for *karo-* forms of older texts, by conscious archaism. Thus Vait., certainly a late text but one with hieratic pretensions, employs the doubly archaic *kṛnuhi* (*ojasvantam mām āyusmantam manuṣyeṣu kṛnuhi*, see §255), against *kuru* of other and older texts. So also the very late NīlarU revives *kṛno-* over the heads of all the YV. texts in: *śvaṁ giritra* (MS *giriṣa*) *tām kuru* (NīlarU *kṛnu*) VS T. MS KS NīlarU. On the whole both the later hieratic texts (YV., Brāhmaṇa, and Śrauta Sūtra), as well as the popular Grhya Sūtras, incline to *karo-*, but frequently and very inconsistently fall back into *kṛno-*. The edition of ApŚ 7 17 6, 7 gives both forms in adjoining repetitions of the same formula, *arātīyantam adharam karomi* (7. 16. 7 *kṛnomi*); the hieratic form here may be due to mere desire for stylistic variation. Just so in adjoining verses of the popular ApMB we have first *karomi*, then *kṛnomi* with further recasting of the phrase which suggests stylistic influence: *syonam te saha patyā karomi* 1. 5 16d, and *ariṣtām tvā saha patyā kṛnomi* 1 5 17d. There are few Vedic texts of any size or importance so base but that they occasionally use *kṛno-* in place of *karo-*. Of those represented by more than one variant pāda, only TA, HG, and RVKh lack *kṛno-* forms. The would-be hieratic (but late and secondary) Vait. poses with *kṛno-* forms three times against other texts with *karo-*, and without a single instance of the reverse.

§187. We seem to see traces of some school tendencies in this regard. Altho it would doubtless be rash to generalize confidently from these few instances, it seems hardly likely to be accidental that the Taittiriya school texts—TS, TB, TA., ApŚ, MahānU., HG, and ApMB.—

uniformly prefer the popular *karo-* So does KS., while contrariwise MS. and its Śrauta Sūtra, MŚ, show a majority for *kṛno-*.

§188 The capricious interplay of hieratic and popular, old and new, is further tangled by half a dozen examples in which the aorists or aorist-presents *kṛdhi* and *kṛṣva* interchange with corresponding forms of the bases *kṛno-* and *karo-*, §210, a

§189. The distribution of the two stems in the interchanging variants is shown conveniently in the following table.

	<i>kṛno-</i>	<i>karo-</i>		<i>kṛno-</i>	<i>karo-</i>
RV.	3	0	Vait	3	0
AV	13	1	ApŚ	5	7
SV	1	0	MŚ	3	2
VS.	4	4	ŚG	0	1
TS	4	9	SMB	2	0
MS.	8	3	GG	1	0
KS.	5	9	Kauś	1	1
AB	1	0	PG	2	2
JB	1	0	ApMB.	4	6
PB	0	1	HG	0	5
ŚB	3	2	MahānU.	0	1
TB	2	6	NīlarU	1	0
TA	0	6	ŚvetU	0	1
AŚ	2	2	RVKh	0	5
ŚŚ.	1	2	BDh	0	1
LS.	0	1			

§190 The following list of about 40 passages is grouped so as to show first those which concern RV and AV. by themselves.

Passages involving RV

yadā śṛtam kṛnavo (TA. *karavo*) *jātavedaḥ* RV AV TA
yasmai kṛnoti (TS. *karoti*) *brāhmanah* RV VS TS
suputrām subhagām kuru (RV *kṛnu*; SMB *kṛdhi*) RV SMB. ApMB.
 HG.

Passages involving AV

yadā śṛtam kṛnavo (TA. *karavo*) *jātavedaḥ* RV. AV TA
aqne medhāvīnam kuru (AV. *kṛnu*) AV VS RVKh
anāgasam brahmane (AV. *ṇā*) *tvā karomī* (AV *kṛnomi*) AV. TB. HG.
 ApMB.
priyam mā kuru (AV *kṛnu*) *deveṣu* (ApMB *mā deveṣu kuru*) AV.
 RVKh HG ApMB

prīyam rājasu mā kuru (AV. *kṛṇu*) AV. RVKh. ApMB : *prīyam mā kuru rājasu* HG

brahmāham antaram kṛṇve (KŚ. *karave*, read °*vai*) AV KŚ

mām indra bhāginam kṛṇu AV. *mām agne bhāginam kuru* ApMB.

karomi (AV *kṛṇomi*) *te prājāpatyam* AV. ApMB HG

kṛṇomi tubhyam sahapatnyai vadhu AV *ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmi* (ApMB. *kṛṇomi*) RV. ApMB.: *syonam me* (ApMB. *te*) *saha patyā karomi* TS. TB. ApMB

svasti na indro maghavān kṛnotu AV. *svasti no maghavā karotu* TS. TA MahānU.

yasya kurmo grhe havih VS MS KS ŚB · *yasya kurmo* (AV. *kṛṇmo*) *havir grhe* AV TS

kṛṇvāno (KS *kurvāno*) *anyān* (TS MS KS *anyān*, KŚ 'nyān) *adharān sapatnān* AV TS. MS. KS ApŚ KŚ

dārgham āyuh kṛnotu me (vām) AV JB. Kauś ApMB : *āyusmantam karota mā* (RVKh *karotu mām*, KS. *kṛnota mā*) RVKh. KS TA BDh.

yābhyām karmāni kurvate (SV. *kṛṇvate*) AV. SV This is the only variant in which AV shows a *karo-* form It is also the only variant in which SV figures at all

Passages involving all other texts

agnih prajāṃ bahulām me karotu (MS. *kṛnotu*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB ŚŚ ApŚ.

agnih pravivṛtān (MS KS °*vāt*) *iha tat kṛnotu* (ApŚ * *karotu*, KS. ApŚ ' *dadhātu*) MS KS ApŚ. (bis).

achūdram yajñam bhūrikarmā karotu (KS. MŚ *bhūrīretāh kṛnotu*) KS TB ApŚ MŚ

arāṭyantiṃ adharam kṛnomi (ApŚ. * *karomi*) TS. ApŚ (both)

asya kurmo (RVKh *kurmo*) *harivo medznam tvā* RVKh TS. TB.: *iha kṛṇmo* etc. KS.

ādityās tvā kṛvantu (KS *kurvantu*) *jāgadena chandasā* VS TS MS KS ŚB.

Similarly *rudrās tvā, vasavas tvā, viśve tvā devā*, etc.

tena suprajāsam kṛnu (TA. *kuru*) TA. Vait.

tena mā vājnam kuru (Vait *kṛnu*) AŚ Vait LŚ.

snūvālī kṛnotu (KS *karotu*) *tām* VS TS MS. KS ŚB.

ulhām kṛnotu (TS KS *karotu*) *śaktyā* VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB.

kṛnotu (KS *karotu*) *viśvacarṣaṇih* KS TB. ApŚ MŚ SMB PG

apsu dhautasya te *bhaḥṣam kṛṇomi* (PB *karomi*) KS. PB.

syonam te sadanam karomi (MŚ. *kṛnomi*) TB. ApŚ MŚ.

so asmān (MŚ. asmān) adhīpatin karotu TS. MŚ · so 'smān adhīpatin
kṛnotu ŚŚ

śamitāro yad atra sukṛtam kṛnavathāsmāsu tad yad duṣkṛtam anyatra tat
AB. AŚ.. yo duṣkṛtam karavat tasya duṣkṛtam Kauś

yena strīyam akṛnutam (ŚŚ strīyāv akurutam) ŚŚ. SMB GG. yena
śrīyam akṛnutām PG

yāsyāmi patighnī tanūh jārāghnīm asya tān kṛnomi ApMB : yā te
patighnī tanūr jārāghnīm tv etām karomi HG · yā te patighnī .
tanūr jārāghnīm tata enām karomi PG · yā te patighny alakṣmī .
jārāghnīm tān karomi ŚG.

sa tvā manmanasām karotu (ApMB. °manasam kṛnotu) PG ApMB
śivām gīritra (MS gīriśa) tān kuru (NīlarU. kṛnu) VS TS. MS KS
NīlarU ŚvetU.

vasūni kṛnuvān (ApŚ kṛnuvann asme, TB kṛnuvann asmin, read asme with
comm and Poona ed. text, MŚ kurvan) naryā purūni TB AS
ApŚ MŚ

yasyām harmāni kurvate (ApŚ kṛnvate) KS ApŚ

madhu tvā madhula karotu (MS kṛnotu) MS. TA. ApŚ

prajā vīkṛvañ (ApŚ vīkurvañ) janayan virūpam (ApŚ °pāh) KS ApŚ.
prajāh kṛnuvān janayan virūpāh MS

ojasāntam mām āyusmantam manuṣyeṣu kuru (Vait kṛnuhi) TS MS
AŚ. Vait

Interchange between the various nasal classes

§191. Here we have, first, interchanges between the *no* and *nā* classes they involve the roots *stabh* and *skabh* (thrice), *kṣi* 'destroy' (twice), and *mī* 'diminish' (once) The rest of the cases are stray examples of various nasal formations; they chiefly concern transfer from non-thematic nasal classes to thematic forms. In principle, of course, thematic verbs of nasal classes are just as old as the non-thematic, but in Sanskrit their appearance is sporadic only The total of these cases is not sufficient to permit deductions

ājyam uktham avyathāyā (KS °ya, TS avyathāyā) stabhnātu (MS °notu) VS TS MS KS ŚB The same with *praiḡan*: uktham, *marutvāḡyam* uktham, *nīṣkevalyam* uktham, and *varīsvadevāḡnīmārute*, *ukthe*, etc

ut te stabhnāmi (TA tabhnomi) pṛthvīm tvaḡ pari RV. AV TA and (pratīkas) ŚG AG Kauś
adhvānā skabhnta (VS skabhnuvantah) VS TS adhvānam skabhnu-
vanto . MS

kṣinomi (AV *kṣināmi*) *brahmanāmitrān* AV VS TS MS. KS ŚB TA.
idam aham amum āmuṣyāyanam . *prakṣināmi* KS . *idam aham amuṣ-*
yāmuṣyāyanam prakṣināmi MS. *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyan-*
asyāyuh prakṣinomi ApŚ

pra smā mināty (ApŚ *prāsmā minoty*) *ajarah* RV. KS ApŚ.

brhaspatiḥ tvā (TS KS. ApŚ. °*tis tvā*) *sumne ramnātu* (TS. ApŚ *raṇ-*
valu) VS TS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ. The 'root' *ranv* is best ac-
 counted for as *ra-nv*-(°*rm-nv*). Whitney, *Roots*, regards it as a
 secondary formation from *ran* This and the next belong equally
 in §196

deva tvaṣṭar vaṣu rama (TS *ranva*, KS. *rana*, MS *raṇe*) VS TS. MS KS
 ŚB.

āpas tvā sam arinān (MS. *arinvan*) VS MS ŚB . *āpaḥ sam arinan* TS.
 KS.

agner jīhvām abhi (MS *jīhvābhi*, p p. *jīhvām*, *abhi*; AV. KS. *jīhvayābhi*)
grñitam (AV. *grñata*) AV VS. TS MS KS *grñitam* is 2d dual of *nā*-
 class, *grñata* 2d plural of accented *a*-class.

āñkṣvāsāv āñkṣvāsau HG . *asāv abhyañkṣvāsāv añkṣva* AŚ.: *āñkṣva*
latāsau ApŚ . *āñjasvānūlūmpasva* PG The thematic present is
 practically unknown; see Whitney, *Roots*

sā mā samiddhāyusaḥ samintām (1 one ms °*indhatām*) TA.: *sā mā*
samiddhā samindhāsatām MS Here TA , most mss , has a regu-
 lar non-thematic present from *indh*, the anomalous appearance of
 which doubtless causes the thematic variant °*indhatām*. MS has
 an aorist.

The roots *van*, *man* and *san* may also be included here even tho the
 nasal is in their case radical, in this grouping we merely follow a custom
 which is not only well-established but eminently practical They pre-
 sent, alongside of non-thematic (8th class) presents, certain forms which
 may be either thematic present indicatives, or aorist subjunctives.
tad agnir devo devebhyḥ vanate (MS. ŚB ŚŚ *vanutām*) TS MS. ŚB. TB.
 AŚ ŚŚ.

The question is, whether *vanate* is a pres of the *bhū*-class or an aor.
 subj ; see §§ 116, 154, and the next.

agnir no vanate (VSK *vanute*, SV TS KS. *vanisate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VS.
 VSK. TS MS. KS. See under prec The question there mooted
 is here further complicated by the indubitably aor. subj. *vanisate*.

manas (MS *manve*) *nu babhrūnām aham, śatam dhāmāni sapta ca* RV.
 VS. MS KS ŚB. N. But *manas* is dubious as a pres subj ; it is
 better taken as aorist, see §§10, 119.

ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ. *sanomy*) *aham* TB. TAA ApŚ. MŚ.

Interchange of nasal with non-nasal classes

§192 This rubric is rendered somewhat uncertain in outline because a number of the non-nasal forms in question may be considered as aorists, especially in the case of modal forms. Thus, the SV repeatedly reads *yūñkṣva* for *yukṣva* of the rest, the latter is structurally ambiguous, tho usually treated as present, like *yūñkṣva*. We have followed this custom, altho it seems to us that *yukṣva* might quite as well be treated as aorist. The fact is that, as we have repeatedly observed, our grammatical categories are more or less whited sepulchres, particularly as regards modal forms. The same considerations apply to some other forms classed here, notably to *-viddhi -vinda*, where *viddhi* might be regarded as either perfect in form (*veda*), or aorist (cf. *vidanta: vndanu*, §159), tho we group it as present.

indrānuvinda (AŚ °*viddhi*) *nas tāni* TB. AŚ.

agne yukṣvā (SV. PB *yūñkṣvā*) *hi ye tava* RV. SV VS TS MS KS PB ŚB KŚ. ApŚ MŚ

yukṣvā (SV. *yūñkṣvā*) *madacyutā harī* RV. AV. SV

yukṣvā (SV. *yūñkṣvā*) *hi keśinā harī* RV. SV. VS. ŚB

yukṣvā (SV. *yūñkṣvā*) *hi vājūnīva* RV. SV

yukṣvā (SV. *yūñkṣvā*) *hi vtrahantama* RV. SV ŚŚ.

yukṣvā (and, *yūñgdham*) *hy aruṣī raihe* RV. (both)

athā mandasva (VS. *madasva*) *yugusāṇo andhasaḥ* RV. VS

iṣe pīpihi (MS. *pīpihi*) MS TA ApŚ *iṣe pīnvasva* VS ŚB KŚ Similarly with *ūrje*, *kṣatrāya*, *brahmaṇe*, and others, see §270

agne brahma grbhñīṣva (MS MŚ. *grhñīṣva*, KS. *grhīṣva*) VS MS KS. ŚB MŚ.

susamī śamīṣva (TS TB *śamī*°; KS † *śamñīṣva*) VS. TS MS. KS ŚB. TB

yasya yonim patireto grbhāya (HG *prati reto grhāna*) ŚG. HG : *vy asya yonim prati reto grhāna* ApMB Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§722, 732

Possibly here belongs

kataro menim prati tam mucāte (Vait *muñcāte*) RV. Vait But in §210, b, we have classified *mucāte* as aorist. See that section and the following for one or two other cases which might, less probably, be placed here

And see further the interchanges between stems *tṛmpa* and *tṛpya*, *manu* and *manya*, *hṛnī* and *hṛnīya*, §195

Interchange between non-thematic and thematic presents

§193 This is one of the most extensive movements in the development of the present systems in their history thruout Hindu speech. Regularly the non-thematic form precedes the thematic form, structurally and chronologically. In the variants the priority of the non-thematic form may generally be assumed. Sometimes the thematic forms are nonce-formations, as when *ghnata* takes the place of *hata*, or in the grotesque *bodha*, 'be', which is coaxed out of *bodhi* in the example *pitā no bodhi* (*bodha*). At the head of our list come several cases in which dissyllabic non-thematic stems are replaced by thematic ones. Cf. also under nasal stems, §191.

kaṭi kṛtvāḥ prāṇāḥ cāpānāḥ ca (ŚB *prāṇāḥ cāpa cānāḥ*) GB. ŚB. Better meter in ŚB

yaḥ prāṇāḥ (AV *prāṇāḥ*) *ya im śṛṇoty uktaḥ* RV. AV.

yac ca prāṇāḥ (AV. *prāṇāḥ*) *yac ca na* AV. ŚB TB BrhU. (Correct Conc.)

ni śtanāḥ (AV. *abhi śtana*) *duritā bādhamānaḥ* RV. AV VS. TS. MS. KS

āpo grheṣu jāgrata HG : *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG. *āpo havishsu jāgrta* ApŚ. : *āpo jāgrta* MS KS. MŚ.

sed u rājā kṣayati (TB. *kṣeti*) *carṣanānām* RV MS. TB.

agne devānām ava heda iṣva (ApŚ *iyakṣva*) KS ApŚ : *ava devānām yaya heda agne* AV The problematic *iṣva* is here appraised as root-present, for *iyakṣva* see §236.

maghavāno vi rapṣante (ŚŚ *rapṣate*) AV. ŚŚ. For the 'root' *rapṣ* see Bloomfield, *IF*. 25 192ff

praśāstah pra suhi (KŚ *sūhi*, MŚ *suva*, ApŚ *suva pra suhi*) AŚ ŚŚ. KŚ ApŚ. MŚ. In ApŚ. compound of the other readings.

etān ghnatātān grhnāta ApMB. *etān hatātān badhnāta* HG. See above. *pitā no bodhi* (TA. *bodha*) VS. ŚB. TA *bodha* is an extreme analogical formation in the spirit of the *a*-conjugation Comm. at TA. 4. 7. 4, foolishly, = *bodhaya*

somo dadad (SMB. GG. PG. 'dadad, HG 'dadād) *gandharvāya, gandharvo dadad* (SMB PG. 'dadad) *agnaye* (HG *gandharvo'gnaye 'dadāt*) RV. AV SMB. GG PG ApMB HG. MG. But see §266; and cf the next four

tad agnir agnaye 'dadāt (KS MS *dadat*) KS ApŚ. MŚ.

indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG *śramo dadat*) MS. MŚ. ŚG SMB

sa tvatebhyah pari dadat (TA. *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyah* RV AV. TA N. Cf. the prec three, next, and §§ 167, 11.

datto asrabhyam (etc., §250, p 165) *dravineha bhādrām* AV KS. AŚ SMB, *dadhatā no dravnam yac ca bhādrām* MS

saṃ vasāthām (MS. MŚ. *vasethām*) *svarvā* (KS. °dāu) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ And.

vyacasvatī saṃ vasāthām (MS *vasethām*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB. Stems *vaste* and *vasate* from *vas* 'clothe' [So Bloomfield wrote, but the interpretation is very dubious. No **vasate* 'clothes' is recorded. Keith on TS seems to understand *vas* 'dwell', as if from a type **vaste*, which is equally unknown from this root. Mahidhara on VS, *āchādayatām* (apparently *vas* 'clothe'). The meaning is obscure. Possibly MS understands a form of *vas* 'dwell' (*vasate*), and the others *vas* 'clothe' (*vaste*). F E]

[*ye dadate* (JUB. *dadante*) *pañca diśah sadhricih* AV JUB. But here there is no real variant, all mss of AV read *dadante*, and Whitney's Transl restores it to the text]

Interchange between a and aya formations

§194 Aside from formations which may with more or less confidence be called causatives, and which we treat separately as such (§§237ff), this type includes hardly anything but forms of the two roots *mṛd* 'pity' and *hā* 'call'. The popular (rather than 'late') form *hwayāmi* is shown to be prehistoric by Avestan *zbayemi*, it is doubtless a mere accident that it alone survives as a present formation from this root in classical Sanskrit, while *huvā* and *hāva*, both of which interchange with *hwaya*, become extinct. See Bloomfield, JAOS 21 48. In the following small list the verbs determine but rarely the relative chronology of the passages.

apasedhan (SV.† °dham) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV. *no mṛda*) RV SV

Here *mṛda* (should = *mṛdā*, and hence metrically out of place) together with the patchword *no* are clearly inferior readings in SV. *layā no mṛda jīvase* VS VSK TS MS KS NīlarU *layā no rudra mṛdaya* TS. The parallel is only vague

sa nah prajāyāi haryāśva mṛdaya (AV KS *mṛda*) RV. AV TS KS.

te no mṛdayata (AV *mṛdata*) AV TS ApMB

te no mṛdayantu (MS *mṛdantu*) VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB.

tau no mṛdayatām (MS *mṛdatām*) TS MS ApMB

huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU *hwayāmi*) *śakṛam puruhūtam indram* RV AV SV VS. TS. MS KS MahānU

śarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV AV. KS. Comm on AV. *ahvayanta*.

[As to the variant quoted in Conc. as: *apām napātām aśvinā huve dhryā* (TS. *aśvinā hwayantām*) AV. TS, the word *hwayantām* is an error for *hayantām* (pple of *h* 'impel') in TS.]

In a single variation between parallel pādas in the Vākhilya hymns the stems *svada* and *svadaya* interchange without difference in meaning, nevertheless, *svadaya* may be considered a causative, cf. §240:

yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavaḥ RV. (Vāl). *yam te svadāvan svadanti gūrtayah* RV. (Vāl)

Interchange between intransitive ya-stems and others

§195 The prevailing intransitive present formation in *ya* occasionally offers refuge to intransitives of other formation. One is inclined to regard the *ya* forms as generally secondary, cf. Delbruck, *AI Synt* 277. The nasal formation *ṛmpa* (Avestan *θ rāf-*) is old, and *manve* is more organic than *manye*.

hulāhulasya ṛmpyatam (KS ŚŚ *ṛmpatam*) KS. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

tasya ṛmpatam ahāhahukā ŚŚ *tena ṛmpyatam anahau* TB. ApŚ

anāgasō adham it samkṣayema TB: *anāgasō yathā sadam it samkṣiyema*

Vait. The Conc. suggests reading *sadam* in TB but the comm.

has *adham*, interpreting it by *anantaram*

brahmatad upāsyaat (MahānU. *upāsyantat*) *tapah* TA. MahānU. But

Poona ed of TA agrees with MahānU. (with *v l upāsv*)

manye vām dyāvāpṛthivī subhojasau ArŚ.: *manve vām dyāvāpṛthivī* AV Vait.

tapate (or *ātapate*, so KSA acc to v. Schroeder, TS both, acc to Weber, VS *tapyate*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA. TA

yat te krāram . tat te sudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena sundhatām*; MS *tad elena sundhasva*) VS TS MS ŚB. ApŚ

Here we may also place the somewhat anomalous *hṛñya* of SV.

mā hṛñihā abhy asmān RV.: *vājebhur mā hṛñyathāh* SV. The alternative would be to regard *hṛñya* as a sort of denominative.

Different treatments of the same root which produce the effect of different present systems

§196 Here and there sundry morphological processes differentiate one and the same root in such a way as to leave behind two forms which may be regarded as two roots, but which in any case manifest themselves in different present formations. The Hindu lexicons postulate a root *ṛnu* which is obviously nothing but an obscured and extended *nu*-present of the root *vr* (**veru*) 'cover'. The archaic form *ṛnuhi* inter-

changes with the conventional *vr̥ṇu* in one case below. Similarly the roots *dhvar* and *dhūrv* are intricate precipitates of a type *dharu* (cf *tvar* and *tūrv*. *taru*), as Bloomfield as shown in JAOS. 16 clx = BB. 23. 109. Compare the relation of *ramnātu* *raṇvatu*, and *rama* *raṇva*, above, §191.

tam dhūrva yam vayam dhūrvāmah VS TS ŚB. TB : *yam vayam dhvarāma*
tam dhvara (KS. *vayam dhūrvāmas tam ca dhūrva*) MS KS
dhūrva tam yo 'smān dhūrvati VS TS ŚB TB. *dhvara dhvarantam yo*
asmān dhvarāt MS
abhy enam bhūma ūrṇuhi (TA. *bhūma vr̥nu*) RV. AV. TA.

Accented and unaccented a-presents (1st and 6th class)

§197. The most conspicuous are those from the root *hū* 'call' The presents *huva* and *hava* interchange with each other, as well as with *hvaya* (§194); the instances are gathered in §2 and are not repeated here Most of the other cases, and indeed some of the *huva*· *hava* cases, have phonetic aspects, concerning the phonetic variation of *a*·*u* before *v*, see §23, where are presented three such variants concerning *brū* (stems *brava* *bruva*), and one concerning *hnu* (*hṇava*·*hṇuwa*) The only other instance we have noted is.

(*pra*) *suvirābhūḥ tirate* (SV. TS *tarati*) *vājabharmabhūḥ* (SV. TS. *karmabhūḥ*) RV SV. TS KS (Correct Conc) Here *pra tirate* is superior to *pra tarati*, if for no other reason because *pra tira-* occurs but a single time in RV (10 53 8), whereas *pra tira-* is common For the stanza as a whole cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg* 281.

Reduplicated and other presents

§198 In two pādas concerning the root *vrt*, Kauś has *vavṛtsva* (a Rigvedic archaism; *ā-vavṛtsva* and *abhi-ā-vavṛtsva* both RV., see Grassmann) where other texts have *vartasva*·

agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā nī vartasva (TS *abhi na ā vartasva*; KS *abhi no nī vartasva*, MS. *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS TS. MS KS. ŚB Kauś
punar ūrjā nī vartasva (Kauś *ūrjā vavṛtsva*) SV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. LŚ MS. Kauś

The variant *īyāna* of SV. for *iyāna* may be classed as a reduplicated present middle participle, there seems no ground for calling it intensive (cf Whitney, *Roots*, s.v)

īyānah (SV. *īy°*) *kṛṇo daśabhūḥ sahasrāṇi* RV. AV SV KS. TA
stotṛbhjo dhṛṣṇav īyānah (SV. *īy°*) RV AV. SV

The remaining cases concern modal forms of roots *dā* and *dhā*, reduplicated and unreduplicated. But the unreduplicated forms may, quite as well, be considered root-aorists (cf. §210, a):

te no dhāntu (SV *dhatta*) *suwīyam* RV. SV.

punar dātām (TA. *dattāo*) *asum adyeha bhadram* RV. AV. TA. *dattāo* is unaccented in TA and is surely to be read *dattām*, comm. *dattau prayachātām* (understanding perfect passive pple with active meaning!)

devīr āpo apām napād. .tam devebhyo devatra (MS *devebhyah śukrapebhyo*) *dhatta* (VS ŚB. *datta*, MS. KS *dāta*) . . VS TS MS. KS ŚB.

b. Interchanges between different Aorist systems

§199. Considering the large number of available aorist systems, and their general equivalence in meaning, the number of interchanges between them is not large. The only one which can be differentiated as to meaning is the reduplicated aorist, with its well-known tendency to association with the causative. Even this difference appears but rarely among the variants, which in fact present only a few cases of reduplicated aorist forms exchanging with others, and those few are generally not distinguishable in meaning from their rivals. We may remember that other 'causative' forms are from the earliest period of the language frequently used in senses that are indistinguishable from transitive forms of the simple verb. And even intransitive reduplicated aorists are found; see the variant *ūrāhvā yasyāmatir bhā adidyutā* (*atidyutā*), below.

§200. Otherwise the variations are purely formal, without possible semantic bearings. The old non-thematic *s*-aorist (Whitney, *Grammar* §888ff) of the type *askāntsam*, *askān*, *askān*, results in 2d and 3d singular forms which often resemble those of the root-aorist; this has yielded a rather constant interchange between the forms *askān* and *askan*; or compare again the threefold variation between *ruk*, *rok*, and *rauk* from *ruc*, below. These variations may be considered, at least in part, phonetic as much as morphological. Phonetic considerations are even more clearly involved in variations like *acārṣam*: *acāriṣam* (see §286, a) which on their face are *s* and *iṣ*-aorists, but in large part are really cases of *svrabhakti* (Whitney, *Grammar* §230c). Phonetic, likewise, is the variant *āprā(h)*; *āprād*, before *dyāvā-* (see §24). On the whole the list of aorist forms is very miscellaneous and presents a rather haphazard aspect. A number of the forms are more or less doubtful as to which aorist class they belong to, or whether they are properly called aorists

at all. Attention will be called to such cases specifically. We number the various aorist types in accordance with Whitney.

§201. *Reduplicated Aorists (Class 3) and others*

ganān me mā vi tīrṣah (MŚ °ṣat) TS MŚ 'do not (let him not) make my troops go thirsty': *ganā me mā vi tīrṣan* VS TS. ŚB 'may my troops not go thirsty.' Here the proper causative sense of the 3d aor. is apparent, and varies with a non-causative 2d aor.

udgrābhenod agrabhāt (MS. *aṅgrabhat*, KS *aṅgrabham* and *aṅgrbham*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 3 and 5 aor., no difference of meaning; both active, 'he has (I have) lifted up'

mā dyāvāpṛthivī abhi śocīh (TS *śūsucāh*, KS *śucāh*; MS *himsīh*) VS TS. MS. KS ŚB. 2, 3, and 5 aor., all active, 'scorch', no difference of meaning.

mainām arciṣā mā tapasābhi (VS. KS *mainām tapasā mārciṣābhi*) śocīh (KS *śocāh*; TS. *śūsucāh*) VS TS MS KS As in prec.: 3 and 5 aor. (*śocāh* is imperfect injunctive)

amīmadanta pīlaro yathābhāgam (Kauś *yathābhāgam yathālokaṁ*) *āvṛṣāyṣata* (AŚ *āvṛṣāyṣata*, ŚŚ. *avīrṣata*) VS VSK. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Kauś SMB GG. KhG Both the forms are somewhat problematic, most texts apparently have a 5 aor. from a denominative (*vṛṣan*), while ŚŚ has a 3 aor. from the primary root *vṛṣ*; both must mean in the last analysis something like 'they eagerly obtained each his portion' See §§243, 285.

yata ścutad agnāv eva tat AŚ. *yata ścutad dhutam agnau tad astu* KŚ. *yatra cuścutad agnāv evantat* MŚ. *dyaur yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat* ApŚ Both forms intransitive, 'dropped'. But the MŚ. reading *cuścutad* is a very doubtful emendation of corrupt mss., in all probability *ścutad* is the real reading. See further §219, end The 2 aor. *aścutat* is quoted in Whitney's *Roots* only from Hindu grammarians

ūrdhva yasyāmātir bhā (so divide) *adidyutat* (VSK *atidyutat*) *savimant* AV. SV. VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ N The VSK reading is obviously secondary, and phonetic in character; but it is worth noting that the 3 aor. form is here (like the substituted 2 aor.) intransitive ('shone')

Sigmatic Aorists varying with non-sigmatic

§202. *1st and 4th Aorists*

askan gām ṛṣabho yuvā KŚ : *aśkān ṛṣabho yuvā gāh* TB TA ApŚ

askann (ŚŚ. *askān*) *adhuta prājan* ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ : *askān ajan* *prājan*
TB TA. ApŚ

askan parjanya *prthivīm* KŚ . *askān dyauh prthivīm* TB TA ApŚ

askān (GB *askan*) *somah* KS GB

brahman somo 'skan (KS ApŚ 'śkān) KS. GB Vait. ApŚ.

drapsas te dyām mā skan (KS ApŚ. *skān*, MS *te dyām mā skān*) VS.
MS KS ŚB ApŚ.

ahāh śarīram (TB *ahāc cha°*) *payasā sameti* (TB *sametya*) TB. Vait
ahāh is 3d person, 'he hath quitted his body' etc.

āprā (AV **āprād*) *dyāvāprthivī antarikṣam* RV AV. (both) ArŚ VS
TS MS KS. ŚB. TB. AA TA N. *āprā(h)* is 3d sing, the AV. form
is certainly secondary, it has phonetic aspects, see §24.

bhūyānso bhūyāśma ye ca no bhūyasaḥ kārṣṭa Kauś *bhūyānso bhūyāsta*
ye no bhūyaso 'karta MS Same with *annādā bhū°*

asmaddviṣaḥ sunūtho mā parā dah MS *dvīṣa sunūte mā parādāh* TA.
The MS form is best taken as an irregular 4 aor, cf. Whitney,
Grammar §894c, for the closest known parallels. *dah* might also,
tho less probably, be classed as 4 aor.

api panthām aganmah (TS. ApŚ *agasmah*) RV. TS MS KS AŚ ApŚ.
ŚG

rasena sam aganmah (RV. *agasmah*) RV KS LŚ

adarśus (ŚŚ *adrākṣus*) *ivā śāsahastam* AB ŚŚ *adarśus* is altogether
irregular, and its ending seems borrowed from *adrākṣus*.

mā bheh VS. TS ŚB TB. KŚ ApŚ : *mā bharh* MS KS. MŚ. Best
taken as 1 and 4 aor.

mā bher mā roñ (VSK *mo roñ*, TS. *māro*) *mo ca nah* (TS *mo eṣām*) *kim*
canāmamat VS VSK. TS ŚB.: *mā bhair mā ruñ mo ca* (KS. *rauñ*
mā) *nah kim canāmamat* MS KS *rauñ* (*rauḥ*) is clearly 4 aor, *roñ*
and *ruñ* seem both to be best classed as 1 aor.

§203. 1st and 5th Aorists

mā prnan pūrtiā vi rādhiṣṭa (TS *rādhi*) TS MS. KS. *rādhi* is of course
passive, see §87 and Whitney §843.

iṣam ūrjam sam agrabham (TS *agrabhīm*) VS. TS. MS KS ŚB. Ob-
viously *agrabhīm* is a blend of *agrabham* and *agrabhūt*; see §262, d.

§204 2d and 4th Aorists

āpo malam va prānarkṣit (ApŚ. *prānījan*) AV. ApŚ

§205 2d and 5th (and, once, 7th) Aorists

bahu hāyam (MS *ha vā ayam*) *avarṣād* (TS *avṛṣād*, KS *avṛṣad*) *iti* . . TS
MS. KS But this variant is only very doubtfully placed here.
avṛṣād (see Keith on TS 2. 4. 7 2) can only be an error for *avṛṣād*,
which may perhaps better be regarded as imperfect than as 2 aor. .

ent tenses; the value of such pairs is *a fortiori* identical. Modal forms from stems other than present or aorist are rare in all periods, so it happens that all the correspondences of this rubric are between present and aorist. Non-sigmatic aorists are, moreover, frequently indistinguishable from formally identical present system forms. This introduces into the group pairs which may be judged, and have been judged in grammars and lexicons, to be merely corresponding forms of different present systems, such as *kṛdhī* and *kṛṣva* in relation to *kṛnu* (*kuru*) and *kṛṇuṣva*; or *pātam* to *pibalam*, or *śrotā* to *śṛnola*. Contrariwise, some modal pairs rubricated as coming from two different present stems, such as *yukṣva* *yukṣva* (§192), may be construed as aorists; such items should, perhaps, be listed in both places. We are inclined to regard the doubtful forms in such pairs as aorists, tho we have followed scholarly tradition in classing *yukṣva* as present. See our discussion §10ff.

§209. In Classical Sanskrit the prohibitive with *mā* is regularly an augmentless aorist. In the Veda augmentless imperfects are commoner, and this has produced a group of variants in which augmentless forms of the two tenses vary with each other, in addition to the general instability of the prohibitive moods as summarized in §§181f. The following two rubrics list the tense interchanges in connection with the same mood, first in categorical and then in prohibitive clauses.

§210. *Interchanges of the same mood in different tenses in categorical clauses*

(a) *Imperatives*

tato no abhayam kṛdhī (ŚŚ **kuru*) RV. AV. SV. VS. AB. PB. TB. TA.
AŚ ŚŚ (both) ApŚ MŚ MahānU

sputrām subhagām kuru (RV. *kṛnu*, SMB. *kṛdhī*) RV. SMB. ApMB. HG.

patim ekādaśam kṛdhī (SMB. HG. *kuru*) RV. SMB. ApMB. HG. In same stanza as prec. Note that all texts vary the form, except HG which has *kuru* both times

patim me kevalam kuru (AV. ApMB. *kṛdhī*) RV. AV. ApMB.

parācīnā mukhā kṛdhī (KS. *kuru*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS

vi yūṣṣva lokam kṛnu AV. *vi yūṣṣva lokān kṛdhī* TA.

athā mano vasudeyāya kṛṣva RV † *adhā mano vasudeyāya kṛṇuṣva* AV. (poor meter).

vivasva ādityaiṣa te somapīthas tena (KS. *tasmin*) *mandasva* TS KS. *vivasvann* (VSK. °*vān*) *ādityaiṣa te somapīthas tasmin matsva* VS. VSK ŚB. Contrary to Whitney, *Roots*, we regard *matsva* as 4 aor. rather than present.

aśvinā gharṁam pātam (MS *pābatam*) VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ. ApŚ
pātam may be present

dīvam gacha svar vinda yajamānāya mahyam MŚ · *devān gacha svar*
vida (ApŚ. *vinda*) etc TB. ApŚ

raym gr̥natsu didhṛtam (and *dhāraya*) RV. (both). See RVRep. 271,
 528

śṛṇota (VS ŚB *śrotā*) *grāvāno viduṣo nu* (VS ŚB *na*) *yajñam* VS TS
 MS KS

devīr āpah śuddhā yūyam devān yuyudhvam (KS *yūdhvam*) MS KS
 Cf *āpo devīh śuddhāyuvah śuddhā yūyam devān ūdhvam* TS. *devīr*

āpah śuddhā vodhvam supariṁṣṭā deveṣu VS ŚB
tasmin (Vait MŚ. *tasmīn*) *tad eno vasavo n̄ dhelana* (Vait *dhallana*)

RV. TAA. Vait MŚ

ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādityāh sadantu VS ŚB : *vasūnām rudrānām ādityā-*
nām sadasi śīda TS TB ApŚ.

sā mā samiddhāyuṣā . . saminiām (one ms *samindhatām*) TA *sā mā*
samiddhā . . samindhīṣatām MS

See also the doubtful cases rubricated in §198 as interchanges between
 root-presents (but possibly aorists) and reduplicating presents, *datta-*
dāta, *dhāntu dhātta*, *dātām dattām*

(b) Subjunctives

sa (AV *sā*) *nah śarma trivarūtham vi yansat* (AV. *n̄ yachāt*) RV. AV.
 MS KS TB. ApŚ

kataro menum prahi tam mucāte (Vait. *muñcāte*) RV. Vait *muñcāte* is
 metrically inferior But *mucāte* may, less probably, be regarded
 as present, § 192

(c) Injunctives

uc chvañcasva (TA *chmañcasva*) *pṛthivi mā n̄ bādhatāh* (TA *vi bādhi-*
thāh) RV. AV TA

(d) Optatives

yuyuyātām uto rapo apa sridhah RV. *yūyātām asmad rapo apa sridhah*
 TB ApŚ

pari vo heli rudrasya vr̥jyāh (TB *vr̥jyāt*) RV TB Other versions of
 this ancient formula §104, u The RV form is archaic

devasya (*devasyāham*) *savituh save* (*prasave*) *nāham rukeyam* (GB
rokeyam) VS VSK TS. MS KS ŚB TB GB Vait MŚ ApŚ LŚ
marīto vuriṭa (TS *vr̥ṇīta*, KS *vareta*) *salhyam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

See next

dyumnām (KS * *one*) *vr̥ṇīta puṣyase* (KS *vareta puṣyotu*) RV. VS TS
 MS. KS ŚB *vr̥ṇīta* might be called injunctive, but the parallels
 make it preferable to class it as optative.

§211 *Prohibitive Injunctives (augmentless preterites)**Imperfect (one 'pluperfect') and aorist*

ītha mā bibhūta mā vepadhvam (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. *vepīdhvam*) VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG.

mā tvā vṛkṣah (TA. *vṛkṣau*) sam bādhiṣta (TA. *bādhiṣtām*, and *bādhetthām*) AV. TA.

mainam agne vi daho mābhī śocaḥ (AV. *śūśucaḥ*) RV. AV. TA. AŚ. In a triṣṭubh stanza

mainām arcīṣā mā tapasābhi (VS. KS. *mainām tapasā mārciṣābhi*) śocīh (KS. *śocaḥ*, TS. *śūśucaḥ*) VS TS. MS KS

mā bharṣir (RVKh AV *bibher*) na marīṣyasi RVKh AV SMB. GG. ApMB. na mar^o mā bibheh AV.

ūrdhvas tiṣṭhan mā divā svāpsīh Kauś. mā divā suṣupthāh (SMB GG. HG *svāpsīh*) ŚG. SMB GG PG HG.: mā suṣupthāh ŚB ApMB : divā mā svāpsīh AG *suṣupthāh* is augmentless preterite perfect, or pluperfect injunctive.

3 TRUE INTERCHANGES OF TENSE

INDICATIVES OF VARIOUS TENSES VARYING WITH EACH OTHER (ALSO A FEW PARTICIPLES)

[§212. These may be called 'true interchanges of tense' in the sense that, in the Veda at any rate, the several tense-forms are commonly understood to carry differences of function. To be sure, as between what we call 'present' and 'preterite', for instance, or between the various types which serve, or may serve, as preterites, the distinctions are not always 'temporal' in a narrow sense. And we shall find here again an elasticity of function quite similar to that which we met in our study of the moods. tho conditioned, of course, by somewhat different circumstances. We shall discuss the examples under three heads: a. Interchanges between the Preterites, b. Interchanges between Present and the Preterites, and c. Interchanges between Future and the other tenses. We may remind the reader that the list of Interchanges between more than two modal varieties (§104) contains several variants which should be added to the following lists

a *Interchanges between the Preterites*

§213 The recent work of Renou (*La Valeur du Parfait dans les hymnes védiques*, Paris, 1925) has absorbed and largely superseded most previous

work on the Vedic tenses Chapter III of that book, more especially pages 29-82, is devoted to a searching study of the preterite use of the perfect and its relation to the corresponding uses of the imperfect and aorist. The work is carried out with great learning, diligence, and acumen, and its results are not likely to be overthrown in any important respects (cf. the review published in *JAOS* 49. 64 ff). Of special interest to us are the remarks on page 41, towards the bottom, where, referring to Bloomfield's article 'On the instability in the use of moods', *AJP.* 23 1ff, Renou says 'la variation dans les temps n'est pas moins manifeste.' Such indeed seems from the variants to be the case. The aorist was shown long ago by Delbrück *AI Tempuslehre*, 5ff., *Vgl. Synt* 2 240 f. to be specially appropriate to facts falling within the experience of the speaker, of which he knows personally, consequently, to recent events, and facts about which special confidence exists or is claimed. Hence what we have referred to as the 'prophetic aorist', which is a special favorite, as we saw, in expressing as already accomplished things which the speaker ardently desires (cf. Renou 26f., calling attention to its frequency in magic charms). Hence its variation with the modal forms, described above, and with the present indicative, below. The imperfect and perfect are often used more or less interchangeably referring to events of the remoter past (Renou 30 ff.), such difference as is discernible between perfect and imperfect as narrative tenses appears often in this, that the perfect expresses facts of greater permanence (Renou 49) or importance (65), and is frequently used in standing formulas (64), as distinguished from the normal imperfect of simple narration. Meter often plays a part in the choice of tense-form (Renou 45 f.), thus in the RV itself we find the variant

ava tmanā dhr̥ṣatā (bṛhatah) sambaram bhīnat (7 18 20 *bhet*), 1 54 4 and 7. 18 20,

where *bhīnat*, imperfect, and *bhet*, aorist, are merely *jagatī* and *tristubh* forms of precisely the same idea. It would be pedantry to try to find any real difference here. Metrical convenience certainly plays a part in a number of other variants, tho it is not always as clear as here.

§214 Even the 'prophetic aorist' is paralleled by equally 'prophetic' uses of the other preterites. One evidence of this is the general fact that, as we saw (§§127 ff.), they vary with modal forms only less frequently than the aorist. But further, the aorist appears in direct and apparently unstrained exchange with other preterites, and that too occasionally in places which seem to cry out for a 'prophetic' form. Thus,

trīṇy āyūṅṣi te 'karam AV, 'I have made three lives for thee' What could be more 'prophetic' than this aorist, more in keeping with the medicine man's confident blah of sorcerous intent? Yet, in a (doubtless later) form of the same pāda, JUB reads

trīṇy āyūṅṣi me 'kṛnoh, 'thou hast made three lives for me', with imperfect instead of aorist

§215 Again, a formula where our sense demands a perfect, because it refers to Indra's mythic conquests, appears in the RV itself with perfect and aorist interchanging

ny āsa (āna d) indrah pṛtanāh svojāh, 'Indra hath conquered all battles, in his great strength'

Can the aorist here possibly be justified as picturing the event as coming within the certain knowledge of the speaker? It seems doubtful. Compare also below, §219, *yena sūryam tamaso nīr amoci (mumoca)*, where aorist and perfect interchange in a pāda for which the imperfect seems demanded by the usual rules

§216 It is, of course, evident that the mere appearance of the same formula with now one preterite tense, now another, does not prove that both have precisely the same meaning. For it is not difficult to slip from one psychological attitude into another, while still envisaging the same event. And we shall show below (see, e.g., the pāda *ṛtasya yonau mahisā ahinvan* etc., §217) that sometimes the alteration is eminently suited to a changed situation. Yet, when all is said and done, and when allowance has been made for the fact that the variants are far less numerous here than in the case of the moods, they seem to show conclusively that there is no very great wrench in substituting one preterite for another, and so furnish presumptive evidence in favor of great laxity in their use —F E]

§217 Imperfect and Aorist

ava tmanā dhṛṣṭatā (and, *brhatah*) *śambaram bhīnat* (and, *bhet*) RV (both).

See above

trīṇy āyūṅṣi te karam (JUB *me kṛnoh*) AV. JUB See above

tābhīh samrabdham anv aundān (TB *saṁrabdhō aundat*) *śad urvīh* AV.

TB The TB improves the meter.

avindac charyanāvati (MS *°dañ sar°*) MS KS. *tad vidac charyanāvati* RV. AV SV TB

akarāt sūryavarcasam ApMB *akṛnoh sūryahacām* RV. AV JB :

avakṛnot sūryatvacām MG

yadī vṛkṣād abhyapaptat (HG *vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat*) *phalam* (AV.

phalam tat) AV HG.. (*yady vṛkṣād yady antarikṣāt*) *phalam abhyapaptat* ApMB.

apām stolō abhyapaptad rasena (ApMB. °*paptac chivena*, HG °*patac chivāya*) AV ApMB HG

ulūkhalā (ApMB *aulā*°, AV *vānaspatyā*) *grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* (MG. *akurvata*) AV ApMB HG MG *akurvata* is shown by the meter to be secondary, the MG substitutes the ordinary narrative imperfect for the archaic aorist

ṛtasya yonau (RV *yonā*) *mahiṣā ahinvan* (RV *ahēṣata*) RV TS KS ApMB. The aorist is 'the normal tense to describe the operations of the sacrifice' (Renou 31), and so is appropriate to this description of the soma-pressing in RV 9 '86 25d In fact the YV. pāda is a blend of this pāda with RV 10 45 3d *apām upasthe mahiṣā avarḍhan*, and preserves the imperfect which is appropriate to that verse, in a mythic narrative relating to Agni

pari śya svāno akṣāh RV (*akṣār*, 3d sing 4 aor) *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV The SV has a later and simpler form, which also eases the meter See next

pavitre somo akṣāh (SV *akṣarat*) RV SV As prec
asapatnā kṛlābhuvam (ApMB °*bhavam*) RV ApMB Cf *asapatnah kṛlābhuvam* RV. In this and the next four variants phonetic considerations are involved, and help to explain the variation if they do not completely account for it, see §23

tatra pūṣābhavat (SV °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV SV KS

nemiś cakram wābhavat (SV. MS °*bhuvat*) RV SV TS MS

yat some-soma ābhavaḥ (SV *ābhavaḥ*) RV SV

yad dūre sann thābhavaḥ (SV. °*bhuvah*) RV SV. MŚ N

apaśyam (and, *adṛśan*) *tṛvārohanam* NīlarU (both) The second (aor) is a conscious modification of the first (imperf), several stanzas before it, with change of person and number No more than stylistic reasons can have dictated the change (variety for its own sake, perhaps)

savitā vy akalpayat ŚG *sinivāly qciklpat* AV The imperfect is clearly secondary, cf *akarat akṛnoh* above, to which this is quite similar

yad vāto apo (MS. MŚ °*po*) *aganāgan* (TS KS ApŚ *agamat*) VS TS MS KSA ApŚ. MŚ The imperf. intensive is better than the aorist, as Keith observes on TS 7 4 20 1, mythic events are referred to

yo ma dadāti sa id eva māvāh (ArS. NrpU *māvat*) ArS TB TA. TU NrpU N The comm on TB *āvāh* = *āvṛṇoti*, *svīkaroti* *āvāh*

seems indeed to be 4 aor. 3d sing of $\bar{a} + vr$ But Deussen, 60 Up. 240 and 765 'wer mich austeilt, der labt mich eben damit.'
[abhi tvā varcasāsīñcan (KS TB °sīcam) AV. KS. TB. But the true AV. reading is °sīcan, see Whitney's note on 4. 8. 6.]

§218 Imperfect and Perfect

apām upasthe mahiṣo vavardha (RV.* VS. ŚB. mahiṣa avardhan) RV (both) AV. SV. VS. ŚB TA. 'In the lap of the waters the mighty one (Agni) throve (thrives)', a statement of permanent truth, in the imperfect version Agni is the object, and the verb is narrative of mythical events, 'the mighty ones increased (Agni).'

vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā RV : vi yo rajānsy amumīla sukratuh RV. agnir hotā nī śasādā yayīyān RV. TS MS. KS.: hotā mandro nī° ya° RV. MS. KS. TB agnir hotā ny asīdad yayīyān RV. MS. KS AB. AŚ

rṣir hotā ny asīdat (TS † nī śasādā) pitā nah RV. VS. TS MS. KS tvam ā talanthorv (ArS. tanor urv) antarikṣam RV. ArS VS. MS. KS. TB. ny anyā arkam abhito vīṣre (AV. 'vīśanta; JB. vīṣyuh) RV. AV JB. ŚB. AA.

yā akrntan avayan yā atanvata (AV. yās ca tatnre) AV. SMB. PG. ApMB HG. yā akrntan yā atanvan MG Note the precisely parallel verbs, imperf. and perf., in AV., apparently the older form, in the others tense-assimilation

anavas te ratham aśvāya takṣan (SV. takṣuh) RV SV. TS. MS. KS. But takṣuh is regarded by some scholars as aorist; see Renou 56; Wackernagel, I 1, p XV

vi mamarṣa rohito vīśvarūpah TB : vi rohito amṛśad vīśvarūpam AV. abhi pra nonuvur (SV. nonavur) girah RV SV nonuvur perf. (Whitney, Grammar §1018a), nonavur augmentless imperf. But see §23.

aḥam viveca (KS astabhnām) pṛthvīm uta dyām AV KS.

yena vābadhnāt (KŚ mā°, TS ApMB * yam abadhnāta, MŚ MG. yaj jagrantha) savitā suśevah (AV °vāh, TS. ApMB * suketah, MŚ. MG. satyadharmā) RV. AV TS MŚ KŚ ApMB MG

prajā ha tīro (AV JB tīro ha prajā) atyāyam īyuh (AV. āyan) RV AV. JB ŚB AA

kim svīd vanam ka u sa vṛkṣa āsīt (RV. VS āsa) RV VS. TS. MS. KS. TB Cf Renou 43, and next

āpo bhadrā (MS. KS devīr) ghṛtam id āpa āsan (TS āsuh, MS ghṛtam-ivā ā āpah) AV TS MS KS Cf. prec

indrāvathuh (VSK °vadnuh, KS * TB ApŚ °vatam) kāvyair (TB. ApŚ karmanā) dansanābhīh RV. AV. VS VSK. MS KS (both) ŚB. TB ApŚ.

yena devā amṛtam anv avindan AV *yena devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuh* RV
asya made ahim indro jaghāna RV *asya made jaritar indro 'hum ahan*
 ŚŚ

prathamā ha vy uvāsa sā AV MS KS Kauś SMB GG KhG *yā*
prathamā vyauchat TS. PG HG *arhanā putravāsasā* (read, *putra*
uvāsa sā, see Jorgensen on SMB, 2 8 1) SMB GG.

(*devīr dvāra indram samghāte*) *vidvīr yāmann avardhayan* (TB *vidvīr*
yāman vavardhayan) VS TB If correct, *vavardhayan* would be a
 nonce-blend of imperf and perf, but Poona ed of TB reads *yā-*
mann avar°, and this is doubtless the true reading

§219 Aorist and Perfect

vy ānad (and, āsa) *indrah pṛtanāh svojāh* RV (both) See above, §215
yena śravānsy ānaśuh (SV *āsata*) RV SV Reference is to ancient
 events, the aor is inappropriate

viśvam id dhātami (MS *dhutami*) *ānasuh* (SV *āsata*) RV AV SV MS
 ApŚ As prec

narāśanse (VS *nārā*°) *somapītham ya āśuh* (KS *ānaśuh*) VS MS KS
 TB But *āśuh* may also, and perhaps preferably, be taken as perfect.
 The sense certainly does not suggest the aorist

naro yat te duduhur dakṣinena TB *naro yad vā te hastayor adhuḥṣan*
 Vait Reference is to pressing of the soma, most naturally felt in
 Vait as that which has just taken place, the aor is more appropriate

yena sūryam tamaso nūr amoci (TA *mumoca*) MS TA 'By which (Trita)
 freed (of old) the sun from darkness' An instructive case According
 to our feeling the imperfect would be required, since reference
 is to a mythic event Yet TA has the perfect, and MS the (wholly
 inappropriate) aorist!

na śim adeva āpat (SV *āpa tat*) RV. SV ŚŚ 'No godless man has (ever)
 attained (or attains. sc wealth) A most general statement, to
 which it would seem that the perfect would be appropriate, yet it
 is found only in the secondary SV, which may have been influ-
 enced by a desire to improve the meter

achidrośyah kavayah padānutakṣiṣuh (so emended, ms *padāni takṣiṣvat*)
 KS *achidrā uśyah padānu takṣuh* TS Cf the variant *anavas te*
 etc, §218

īṣam ūrjam aham ita ādam (TS ApŚ *ādade*, MS KS MŚ *ādi*) VS
 TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

yad antarikṣam tad u me (MS † *nah*) *pṛtābhūt* (VSK *pṛtāsa*) VS VSK
 TS MS ŚB

vrajan gomantam uśijo vi vavruh (KS. *uśijo apa vran*) RV AV VS TS MS KS. ApMB. 'The eager (fathers, of old) opened the stall of cows.' Aorist seems out of place, unless KS. feels the act as brought down into the immediate past

viśvā adhi śrīyo dadhe RV . 'dhita RV KS TB . *dhise* (present) RV. The aor. 'dhita (10 127 1) has Night for subject; 'she has (just now) assumed all glories' The perfect *dadhe* (2 8. 5) is said of Agni, and is a general and more or less permanent statement, and substantially equivalent is the present of 10 21 3, of which the subject is also Agni. Is *dhise* possibly modal? Cf. §165

vāk patamgāya śīśrīye TS . *vāk patamgo aśīśrīyat* (KS *gā aśīśrayuh*) AV. KS. See note in Whitney on AV 6 31 3, and cf. Cone

pītur wa nāmāgrabhīṣam (ApMB *°bhaiṣam*, PG *nāma jagrabham*) PG. ApMB HG. *pītur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh See §§206, 267. *jagrabham* is pluperfect

dyaaur yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat ApŚ (*dyaaur* belongs to the prec pāda, and probably *yata ścutad* is the true reading): *prthivyām avacūscotantat* TB ApŚ . *yata ścutad* (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ . *yata ścutad dhutam agnau tad astu* KŚ : *yatra cūscutad agnāv evatāt* MŚ (so emended, but a better emendation, quite as close to the mss, would be *yatra ścutad*). The aorist *āscutāt* is quoted only from grammarians in Whitney's *Roots*

§220. Pluperfect and other Preterites

pītur wa nāmāgrabhīṣam (*°bhaiṣam*, *nāma jagrabham*); *pītur nāmeva jagrabha*, see just above

priyām yamas tanvam prārīrecīt (classed as anomalous plup, AV *tanvam ā rīreca*) RV AV

punsah kartur mātary āsīṣikta JB . *punsā kartrā mātari mā nīṣīṇca* (read *nīṣīṇcata*?) KBU Acc to Deussen, 60 Up. 25, three mss of KBU read *mā āsīṣikta*

indrāya suśuvur (MS KS *indrāyāsuśuvur*) madam VS MS KS TB. But see §267

ayam dhruvo rayīnām ciketa yat (SV *ciketad ā*) RV. SV *ciketad* could, of course, be considered modal, but the sense of the passage suggests that it is better taken as augmentless plup (cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §820)

yāś ca (AV *yā*) *devīr* (SMB *devyo*) *antān* (AV *antān*; PG *devīs tantūn*) *abhito 'dadanta* (SMB † *'tatantā*, PG *tatantā*) AV ApMB SMB. PG The form *'tatantā* is a corruption, evidently felt as 3 plur.

plup mid, for °ta (so Stonner, PG comm reads *talant̥ha* and takes it as 2 sing. perf. act, despite the impossible sandhi).

toyena jīvān vi sasarya (so! TA *vyā ca sarya*, comm v. 1 *vyasasarya*) *bhūmyām* TA. MahānU The text reading of TA is a mere corruption; the variant, an anomalous augmented perfect Hardly belongs here; see §267.

Cf also the interchange between Present and Pluperfect, §233

b *Interchanges between Present and the Preterites*

§221. The entire business of tense in the mantras is emasculated, as it were, or at least confused, because these texts are in the main sentimental rather than narrative or historical. Legends and legendary allusions are, of course, narrative, implying some precision in time statements. They occur often enough in the mantras. Indra slew Vṛtra, or the Aśvins saved the son of Tugra from the machinations of his father, both in the past. In such cases present or future is unimaginable. But Indra also hath aided, did aid, aids, shall, and will aid him that calls upon him. We are again, a large part of the time, in the domain of modality, either belief, wish, or demand, rather than in the domain of genuinely statable fact. Fixation in point or quality of time becomes precarious, because the thing can be and is supposed to happen in any time. Some of the cases of interchange between present and perfect may concern the 'old' use of the perfect, to express something regarded as permanently established (Renou 7 and *passim*), this is specially suited to such psychological spheres. Thus in

agnim naras triśadhas̥the sam īdhire (SV TS. *indhate*) RV SV TS KS 'men have kindled (i.e. regularly do kindle, or, SV TS, simply kindle) Agni on his three seats', the action described is applicable to any situation and time, RV conceives it as a quasi-cosmic fact. But, as Renou has shown, even the perfect is normally a preterite tense in the RV, and it is doubtful to what extent we should allow its variation with the present to seduce us into assuming the old, non-preterite function for it. For the other preterites exchange about as commonly with the present as it does, and often it seems clear that whatever difference in meaning exists is purely sentimental, a matter of the way the poet looks at things, rather than factual. So that the line of demarcation between even such tenses as are ordinarily differentiated in Hindu speech is a good deal effaced. In the RV itself we meet the *pāda*

ud vām pr̥ṣṭāso madhumanto asihuh (4 45 2 *madhumanta irate*) RV 4 45 2, 7 60 4, MS, 'your honeyed steeds (O Aśvins) have started

up (rush forth).’ We take it that what is really meant in both cases is, ‘let them start or rush forth’ Similarly,

yam aichāma (ApŚ. *ichāmi*) *manasā so ‘yam āgāt* RV ApŚ., whom we craved (I crave), he hath come.’ The craving is good for all time; a view which would see in the imperfect its regular sense of ‘craved of old’ is of course neither demonstrable nor refutable.

§222. In the sphere of charms and exorcisms especially, where desire hovers before the eye of the speaker, and all results are imaginary, the tenses indifferently lapse into moods, if sounded to the bottom. The formal tense distinction between the prophetic aorist and the present is merged into a substantially identical modal value for both, as in.

abadhiṣma rakṣo ‘*badhiṣmāmum asau katah* VS etc., ‘we have slain the demon, slain so-and-so, so-and-so is slain’, and *idam aham rakṣo ‘va bādhe* VS etc., ‘I drive off this demon’ Both really mean that the speaker eagerly wants to accomplish the result stated. Naturally, therefore, all the preterites, as well as the present, freely interchange with moods, as we have seen above.

§223. For the rest, even in the quasi-narrative sphere of mythology the tenses intermingle because many myths are not sufficiently stable to keep them from doing so. Even the RV is the final precipitate of ideas and compositions which had a long past, more so the other Vedic texts. Mythic ideas, such as the freeing of the light cows from the demonic Panis, are thrown forward into the present, as if to be performed over again at the moment, where they mean extracting *dakṣinā*-cows from grudging non-sacrificers. Many other mythic ideas refer not only to definite events in the past, but to habitual performances in harmony with the subject or character of the myth. Thus the pious, sacrificing sages of the Aṅgiras or Uśij character figure primarily in the past, but easily reproduce themselves in the present.

sarasvatīm sukrīto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV AV KS, ‘the pious called (call) upon Sarasvatī’ To be sure, AV comm reads *ahvayanta*

tām dhārāśah kavayo ‘nudiśyāyajanta (v l and p p °*dṛśyā*°) MS *tām dhārāśo anudṛśya* (VSK °*dṛśya*) *yajante* (KS † *anudṛśyāyajanta kavayah*) VSK TS KS TB. *tām u dhārāśo anudiśya yajante* VS ŚB, ‘her (earth) looking after (pointing to) the sages worship(ped)’

§224. Even an epithet like *prathama* is not sufficient to prevent this transfer to the present, if we may trust Knauer’s quotation from an unedited part of MŚ.

viśvasṛjah prathame (TB ApŚ °*māh*) *sattram āsata* (MŚ *āsate*) PB TB.

ApŚ. MŚ, 'the all-creators of yore performed (perform) a *sattra*-session.'

§225 In these cases the presents are logically inferior, in two at least, and probably in all three, they represent secondary readings. But no great wrench is required in order to use them. Similarly in *oṣadhayah sam vadante* (VS. *avadanta*) RV. VS VSK. TS, 'the plants confer(red) together.'

yatrausadhāḥ samagmata RV. VS *yad oṣadhayah samgachante* (KS *samagmata*) TS MS. KS. 'where (when) the plants have come (come) together.'

These passages allude to slender, myth-like conceptions which may just as well be conceived in the present as in the past.

§226 It may also be remembered that occasionally a present, at all periods of the language, is 'historical', that is used of past events to add liveliness to the narrative. All these considerations, together with the instability of oral tradition, which at times doubtless introduces really faulty variants, account sufficiently for the considerable number of interchanges between present and all sorts of preterites.

§227. We have alluded above to the special position of the perfect, the use of which has recently been made the object of Renou's study. We may conclude these introductory remarks by mentioning a few variants in which perfect forms seem either certainly or very probably to have no preterite value whatever.

anu vām ekaḥ pavir ā vavarta (TB. *vavartī*) RV MS TB 'one wagon-tire rolls after you two (Mitra and Varuna).' The present of TB, the secondary of course, is as it were an ancient commentary on *vavarta*. *praṇāḥ pupoṣa purudhā v rājati* RV VS *praṇāḥ piparti bahudhā v rājati* SV. ArŚ. MS KS ApŚ 'he prospers (furthers) our offspring manifoldly' etc.

sam sūryena rocate (SV *didyute*, VS.* *didyutat*) RV. SV. VS (both) MS. ŚB TA. Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 345. Of course *didyutat* may be modal.

nindati *two anu two grnāti* (MS *vavanda*) MS KS : *piyati two anu two grnāti* RV. VS. TS. ŚB N 'some blame, others praise.' Here the perfect *vavanda*, replacing the present *grnāti* and matching the present *nindati*, can be put down with almost mathematical certainty as non-preterite.

§228 The variants are divided into four groups. Present and Imperfect, Aorist, Perfect, and Pluperfect respectively. We have not thought it worth while to burden our lists with such a ritual litany as

MS 4. 9 23-24, where, first, ritual situations are approached anticipatorily, with verbs in the present or future indicative, or in various moods; and then, after the completion of the rite, the same litany is repeated practically verbatim with change of the verbs to preterites, as e.g. *agne vratapate vratam carisyāmi . acārṣam* A close parallel to this passage in TA 4. 41. 1-6.

§229. Present and Imperfect

ulūkhālā (ApMB. *aul*^o) *grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* (MG *akurvata*) ApMB.

HG MG : *aulūkhālāḥ śampravādanti grāvānah* SMB · *vānaspatyā grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* AV Aorists also concerned here.

catuspadām anv emi (AV. *aiṭad*) *vratena* RV AV. On the anomalous form *aiṭat* see Whitney-Lanman on AV. 18 3 40

yam aichāma (ApŚ *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāi* RV. ApŚ.

sarasvatīm sukrto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV. AV KS. But AV. comm. *ahvayanta*

tām dhārāsah kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta etc, see §223

prasnāpayanty ūrminam (SV. *°yanta ūrmayah*) RV. SV. Note hiatus in SV.

saṁ bāhubhyām dhamatī (MS *°yām adhamatī*) *saṁ palatrah* RV. VS MS MahānU. SvetU And others, see §50

yai sunvate yajamānāya śikṣam (and, *śikṣathah*) RV (both).

uro vā padbhīr (Kauś. *padbhīr*) *āhate* (Kauś SMB *°ta*, but Jørgensen *°te*) TS. ŚŚ KŚ MŚ Kauś SMB.

śrīnānā apsu mṛṇjata (SV. *vr̥ṇjate*) RV SV.

yam nīrmanthato āsvinā RV ApMB. HG MG . *yābhyām nīrmanthātām āsvinau devau* ŚB. BrhU.

uta gāva wādanti (TB *wādan*) RV. TB.

viśvasṛjah prathame (TB ApŚ *°māh*) *sattram āsata* (MŚ. *āsate*) PB. TB. ApŚ MŚ

surayā mūtrāy janayanti (VS † *°ta*) *retah* VS TB · *surayā mūtrāy janayanti* (KS † *°te*) *retah* MS KS.

oṣadhayah saṁ vadante (VS *saṁ avadanta*) RV. VS. VSK. TS.

gāvau te sāmanāv utah (AV *aitām*) RV. AV

asurās tvā nyakhanan AV *nīcrah kṣananti asurāh* AV.

andhena yai (TA *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsī* (TA *°si*) AV. TA.

sapta svasāro abhi saṁ navante (AV. *navanta*) RV. AV The AV form may be considered injunctive

adhīyata (ŚŚ *°te*) *devarātah* AB. ŚŚ.

rathītamau rathānām ahva (KS. *°nām kuva*) *ūlaye* TS MS. KS

lam ahve (SV. *u huve*) *vājasālaye* RV. SV. Phonetic corruption in SV., see §23, end

āsūn va suyamān ahva ūlaye AV *āsūn huve suyamān ūlaye* TS MS. KS *mano nv ā huvāmahe* (Vait °hi; VS ŚB KŚ Kauś *huvāmahe*) RV. VS VSK. TS MS KS AB. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ. KŚ. LŚ ApS Vait Kauś. See §2.

§230 Present and Aorist

ulūkhalā grāvāno ghoṣam akrata, etc., see §229.

ud vām prkṣāso etc., see §221

yad oṣadhayah (RV VS *yatrauṣadhiḥ*) *samagmata* (TS MS *samgachante*) RV VS TS MS KS

dṛśāno rukma urvyā (RV KS *urvyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS. *vi bhāt*) RV VS TS MS. KS. ŚB ApMB

gāyatrena chandasā pṛthivīm anu vi krame TS. *pṛthivyām* (KS. °vīm) *viṣnur* (MS *viṣnuh pṛthivyām*) *vyakṛanta* *gāyatrena chandasā* VS MS. KS ŚB. ŚŚ And the same with *traisṭubhena antarikṣam*, and *jāgalena divam*.

yad rātriyāi (and, *ahnāi*) *kurute pāpam* TAA *yad rātriyā* (MahānU TA. v. 1 *rātriyā*, also, *ahnā*) *pāpam alārṣam* (TA' v. 1 *alārṣam*) TA. MahānU See §30.

prānasya brahmacāry asi (ApMB. *asmī*, HG. *abhūr asau*) AG ApMB HG MG

brahmacaryam āgām (MG *upemasi*, Kauś text *āgam*, unnoted in Cone, perhaps misprint) ŚB Kauś SMB GG PG ApMB ApG HG MG. A metrical pāda is produced in MG out of what is prose in the others; the context is different

yadā tvam abhivarṣasi PraśU. *yadā prāno abhyavarṣit* AV.

pra vā eṇdūr indrasya niṣṭṛtam AV *pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣṭṛtam* RV SV PB

grhān aṁni (LŚ HG *emī*, ApŚ *āgām*) *manasā modamānah* (AV *sumanā vandamānah*, ApŚ * *modamānah suvarcāh*, LŚ. *manasā dāvena*) AV. VS LŚ ApŚ ŚG HG

samūcīnāsa āsate (SV *āsata*) RV SV.

abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum asau hatah' (VSK *raḥṣo* 'muṣya tvā badhāyāmum abadhiṣma) VS VSK ŚB KŚ *avadhiṣma rakṣah* TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ : *idam aham rakṣo* 'va bādhe VS. MS KS. ŚB ApŚ MŚ

ye sarpāh tebhya imam balim āhārṣam AG. *ye pṛthivāh sarpās tebhya imam balim harāmi* HG.

rūpam vo rūpenābhyemi (KS. *rūpenābhyāgām*) *vayasā vayah* MS. KS.

MŚ : *rūpena vo rūpam abhy āgām* (TS. ApŚ *aimi*) VS. VSK TS.

ŚB. ApŚ

sam ākūṭir (RVKh. erroneously, *ākūṭir*) *namāmasi* (MS. *anaṁsata*)

RVKh AV. MS.

pra vām raṭho manojavā asarj (and, *vyarti*) RV. (both)

samāvavarthi (MS. MŚ. *samāvriat*) *prthivī* VS. MS. KS. TB KŚ. ApŚ.

MŚ

devā madhor vy aśnate (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.

yasmād bhātā (and, *bhāto*) *niṣṭhasi* MŚ. *yasmād bhāṣā niṣṭhasi* (TB ApŚ.

nyāśadah, ŚŚ. *nyasadah*) AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Thru fear of

which thou sinkest down (hast [just now] sunk down).'

Participles:

īrpat (SV *īrmpat*) *somam apibad viṣṇunā sutam yathāvaśat* (SV.†° *śam*)

RV AV. SV. TB.

§231. Present and Perfect

yasyām karmāni kurvate (ApŚ. *kṛnvate*) KS. ApŚ.: *yāni karmāni cakṛire* AV.

na hi te nāma jagrāha AV.: *na hy asyā* (ApMB. *asyai*) *nāma grbhānāmi* RV ApMB.

catustrinśat tantavo ye vi tatnire VS : *trayastrinśat tantavo ye vi tatnire*

(MS. *yam vilanvate*; KS. AŚ. *yān vilanvate*) TS MS. KS. AŚ ŚŚ

atra śravānsi dadhire RV. *tatra śravānsi kṛnvate* SV.

purūvasur hi maghavan babhūvitha (RV. *sanād aśi*) RV. SV.

caraty ananuvratā ApMB. HG.: *yac cacārānanuvratam* ApŚ.: *vicaranty apatvratā* ŚG. MDh. (Pres pple. in the last) The parallel verb in the preceding pāda is perfect in all; ApŚ. assimilates the tense in this pāda.

yasmāj jālā na parā nava kim canāsa (VS. *jālam na purā kim canaiva*)

VS TA : *yasmāj jālo na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ. *anyo*) *asti* JB ŚŚ *yasmād*

anyo na paro aśi jālah PB.: *yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti*

Vait : *yasmān na jālah paro anyo aśi* (NrpU. 'sti) VS. TB. KŚ.

ApŚ MahānU. NrpU.: *yasmāt param nāparam aśi kim cit* TA.

MahānU. N.: *tasmād dhānyan na parah kim canāsa* RV. TB :

tasmād vai nānyat param aśi tejah AV.: *yasmān nānyat param aśi*

bhūtam AV.

ād it prthivī gṛhṭair vy udyate TS *ād id gṛhṭena prthivī vy udyate* (AV.

prthivīm vy ūduh) RV AV. MS. KS N.

ye prthivyās samājagmur iṣam ūrjam vasānāh KS *samāgachantīṣam*

ūrjam vasānāh (ApŚ. *duhānāh*) MS ApŚ.

agnim naras triśadhas̥the sam īdhire (SV. TS *indhate*) RV. SV. TS KS.
agnim indhe (RV *īdhe*) *ivasvabhīh* RV SV

anu vām ekah pavir ā vavarta (TB °*u*) RV MS TB.

nahr tad dr̥śyate divā (ApŚ *tad dadr̥še divā*, HG *tad divā dadr̥še divah*)
 AV ApŚ HG

manye (KS *mene*) *bhejāno amṛtosya tarhi* AV TS MS KS

yac cham ca yoś ca manur āyeje (TS *āyaje*) *pitā* RV TS KS The TS
 reading is anomalous in form and meaning, and is obviously due to
 metrical considerations (better cadence)

yadī vāham anṛtadeva āsa (AV °*devo asmī*) RV AV

prajāh piparhi bahudhā (RV VS *pupoṣa purudhā*) *vi rājati* RV SV ArS
 VS MS KS ApŚ

eṣu vānaspatyeṣu ye 'dhi tashuh AV . *eṣu vr̥kṣeṣu vānaspatyeṣu āsate*
 ApMB

pīyati (MS KS *nindati*) *two anu two grnāh* (MS *vavanda*) RV VS TS
 MS KS ŚB N

apām napālam pari tashur (ArS °*tam upa yanti*) *āpah* RV ArS TS
 MS KS

sam tvā tataksuh (LŚ °*kṣnuh*) Vait LŚ KŚ If *tataksnuh* is entitled
 to standing, it is a nonce blend of perfect and present (*tal̥kṣnuvanti*)

indrasya tvā jathare sādāyāma (AŚ *dadhāmi*) VSK KB GB AŚ ŚŚ
 LŚ. ApŚ Kauś *brahmaṇa indrasya tvā jathare dadhuh* MŚ † See
 §315

dāsyann adāsyann uta sam grnāmi (TA *uta vā harīṣyan*, and so AVPpp ,
 Barret, JAOS 30 213) AV TA *adāsyann agna uta samgrnāmi*
 AV *aditsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA *dhīpsyam vā samcakara*
janebhyah MS *yad vādāsyam samjagārā janebhyah* TB

§232 Present and other Participles

Since Renou has shown (121-38) that participles in the Veda often
 appear to be independent of the finite stems with which they are for-
 mally connected, we list the participial variants in a separate list The
 first six variants all occur in the same context; soma is referred to
yamah sūyamānah VS *yamo 'bhiṣutah* TS KS

rudra āhutah TS *rudro hūyamānah* VS KS

pitaro nārāśansāh sannah (VSK *sādyamānah*) VS VSK . *pitṛnām nār-*
āśansāh TS

viṣnuh śtipviṣta ūrāv (VSK † *ūrā*) *āsannah* VS † VSK . *śtipviṣta āsādūtah*
 (KS † °*viṣta ūrā āsādyamānah*) TS KS

asurah kṛīyamānah (KS *kṛītah*, VS *panyamānah*) VS TS KS

viśve devā anśuṣu nyupitāḥ (VSK *nyupyamāneṣu*) VS VSK.

utthiṣṭhans (ŚŚ *utthiṣṭas*) *tretā bhavati* AB ŚŚ.

jayānāḥ (SV. *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaiḥ* RV SV See §238, end.

atvātram varṣan pūrtir āvrt (MS *avarṣvān pūrtā rāvat*, KS. *avarṣvān pūta rāvat*) svāhā TS. MS KS.

tepāno (SV *tapāno*) *deva rakṣasaḥ* RV. SV.

samākurvānāḥ (TB. *samācakrānāḥ*) *praruḥo ruhaś ca* AV TB

dhṛṣṇam (AV. °no, read °nam acc to Whitney, AA. *dādhṛṣṇam*)

dhṛṣṭam (AV. °taḥ, Whitney em °iam) *śavah* AV AA. ŚŚ †

harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā (TB °atā) *marutvāḥ* RV TB N *dhṛṣṭā* is an adverbial instr of the pres. act pple.

[*viśvasyām viśi pravurṣivānsam* (KS. °*viśvānam*, quoted in Conc. as *pravṣānam*) *īmahe* TS MS. KS. See §§69, 273]

§233. Present and Pluperfect

rudrān devān yajñenāpiprem ApŚ : *rudrān prīnāmi* Vait.

c. Future and other Tenses

§234. The future is rare in the Mantras, its place being taken by the moods, especially the subjunctive. Its own modal value comes to the fore notably in its interchanges with the moods (§177), and in the rare instances where it interchanges with pretense indicative forms, it is rather as a mood than as a tense (§184). For this reason the few scattering finite futures varying with preterite tenses are treated above. Here are gathered, first, a couple of variants between present and future indicatives, and between present and future participles; and then a group of variations between future participles on the one hand and aorist and perfect participles on the other. Some of the future-aorist cases, concerning sigmatic forms on either side, have obvious phonetic bearings which have been dealt with in §§27f. The present-future cases need no comment; since the present designates not a point of time but a quality of action, it is always ready for use as a future. See also §104, e.

Below, in §248a, we shall find a few cases of verbal nouns in *tar* (nominative, *tā*) varying with finite verb-forms; attention may be called to them here, because they are forerunners of the later periphrastic future (Whitney §946).

(a) Present and Future

tebhya imam bahm hariṣyāmi tebhya imam bahm ahārṣam ApMB.:
tebhya namo 'stu bahm ebhyo harāmi PG.: *tebhya bahm puṣṭikāmo*

harāmi (AG *dadāmi*) TAA MahānU. AG. Cf *balim ebhya harāmīmam* PG

agne vratapate vratam ālapsye (KS *ālabhe*) MS KS MŚ Cf. *agne vratapate vratam carīṣyāmi* VS etc, see Conc

(b) *Participles, Present and Future*

agnim khaṇanta (TS *khaṇīyanta*) *upasthe asyāh* VS. TS MS KS ŚB *bhūtam asī bhavad asī* Kauś · *bhūtam asī bhaviṣyad asī* ŚŚ 8. 21. 3

(c) *Participles, Aorist and Future*

ratho na vājam sanīṣyann (SV *sanīṣann*) *ayāsīt* RV. SV See §28, and Bloomfield, *SBE* 42 418

(*net tvā*) *dadhrg vidhaḥṣyan paryañkhaṣyāte* (AV *vidhaḥṣan paryañkhaṣyātai*) RV. AV. · *net tvā* . *dadhad vidhaḥṣyan paryañkhaṣyātai* TA

See §27 The AV. reading was probably *vidhaḥṣyan*

samhānāya svāhā VS. MS · *samhāṣyate svāhā* TS KSA

(d) *Participles, Perfect and Future*

(*suṣvānāsa indra stumasi tvā*) *sasavāṇsaś ca* (SV. *sanīṣyantaś cit*) *tuvīrṇmna vājam* RV. SV 'We praise thee, O Indra, strong in manhood, after we have pressed (the soma) and after we have gained (or, about to gain) booty.'

vājam tvāgne jīvāṇsam sasanvāṇsam (and, *jeṣyantam sanīṣyantam*) *sammārjmi* Vait. (both)

CHAPTER V. THE SECONDARY CONJUGATIONS

§235 Of the conjugations included by Whitney under this heading, one, the Passive, has been treated above in the chapter on Voice, where it naturally belongs. Another, the Desiderative, is patently a mood in function, and appears in the Variants only in a very few cases where it interchanges with other moods, it has been treated in that connexion (§178). This leaves the Intensive, Causative, and Denominative. The interchanges concerning them are not numerous, nor, with one or two exceptions, do they mark any very important conditions or tendencies in the language of the mantras.

1. INTENSIVE

§236 As the intensive is a fairly frequent form in the Veda, the natural affinity between such ideas as 'lead forth': 'drag out', 'call': 'clamor', 'kill'. 'slaughter', etc., manifests itself in corresponding interchanges between intensive and primary verb. Occasionally the interchange is promoted by another, outside locution; thus in the example *tam sarasvantam avase huvema* (*havāmahe, johavīmi*), we detect contamination with RV. 1. 34. 12 *śrnavantā vām avase johavīmi*, or RV. 3. 62. 2 *śaśvattamam avase johavīti*.—In two examples, the last of our list, the form of the intensive itself is varied.—Of course all intensive forms are reduplicated, most of the alternative forms in the list are not reduplicated, but in the first four they likewise show reduplication

pavamānasya jañghnatah (SV. PB. *jighnatah*) RV SV. PB.

indro vṛtrām jighnate (ŚŚ. *jañghanat*) RV. AV. ŚŚ. The ŚŚ passage is in a different context

andrah prāno aṅge-aṅge nūdhhyat (TS *nī dedhyat*; VSK. *nūdhātah*) VS VSK TS MS KS. ŚB. See §248

sarasvatyā (AV **tyām*) *adhī manāv* (KS *mānā*, v. 1 *manā*; AV. erroneously *manāv*, SMB. *vanāva*, corrected in Jørgensen to *manāv*) *acar-kṛṣuh* (KS *acarkṛ*°, v. 1. *acarkṛ*°; SMB *carkṛdhi*, but Jørgensen *acarkṛṣuh*) AV KS TB. ApŚ MŚ SMB. PG. See §136. Jørgensen assumes that *acarkṛṣuh* is a phonetic variant of *acarkṛ*°, by dissimilation, referring to Wackernagel I §234 b.

iam sarasvantam avase huvema (AV *havāmahe*, KS. *johavīmi*) RVKh. AV. TS etc., see §78

ato no 'nyat pīlaro mā yoṣṭa (HG *yūdhvam*) ApŚ. MŚ HG · *mā no 'to 'nyat pīlaro yūṁgdhvam* AŚ : *mā vo 'to 'nyat p' aro yoyuvata* Kauś *daḥṣinam* (and, *savyam*) *pādām avanenije* AB SMB. GG : *imau pādāv avanīlau* Kauś
upaveṣopariddhi naḥ TB. ApŚ cf. *veṣo 'sy upaveṣo 'viṣato grīvā upa reviddhi* VSK
yam tvām ayam (TS KS *tvāyam*) *svadhitis tejamānah* (TS KS *teṭjānah*, MS. *ṭigmatejāh*) RV TS MS KS
yad vāto apo (MS MŚ 'po) *aganīgan* (TS KSA ApŚ *agamat*) VS TS. MS KSA ApŚ MŚ
ara devānām yaja heda agne AV.: *agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS *īkṣva*) KS ApŚ. Both *iyakṣva* and *īkṣva* are problematic, see §193.
pra bādhamānā (RV. and p.p of MS *prabābadhānā*) *rathyeva yāti* RV MS.

Variant forms of Intensive

ni galgalīti dhārakā VS ŚB.: *ni jalgulīti* (KSA † ed. *jalgalīti* by em, ms *jalgalūti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA Cf Whitney, *Grammar* 1002d; *galgalīti* is irregularly reduplicated
kanīkhunad iva sāpayan TB.: *canīkhudad yathāsapam* AŚ. Unintelligible stuff.

2 CAUSATIVE

§237. The interchanges of the causative are grouped under four heads.

a Perhaps the most frequent and typical are those in which a neuter verb with subject expressed or implied is transposed to causative verb with another subject. The nominative subject of the first form then becomes accusative object in the second form. Thus in one and the same text (AV.), *redir bhūmīr akalpata*, 'the earth shaped itself into a vedi': *veduṁ bhūmīm kalpayitvā*, 'he having shaped the earth into a vedi.' Or, in different texts, *apām sadhiṣi sīda* TS : *apām tvā sadhiṣi* (MS † *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS MS. KS ŚB.

b. In a few cases, not all of them clear in their bearings, the causative still has causative meaning, being thus distinguished from the primary verb; but the subject and object remain the same, so that there is a more or less definite variation in the sense of the passage.

c. In a considerable number of cases, perhaps nearly as many as in the first group, causative and primary appear indifferently with the same meaning, these are, in other words, early examples of the fading out of the distinctive causative meaning of verb-forms in *aya*, which in

the later language becomes so noticeable, and which led in the Pāh-Prakrit languages to the vast extension of the *-paya-* type, as a more clear and unmistakable causative formation

d Different forms of the causative

- a *Causatives and primary verbs with transfusion of construction, resulting in equivalence of meaning in both clauses*

§238 There may be discovered in some of these cases a flavor of greater assurance or certainty in the causative form of expression, which would possibly bring these variants into the general sphere of modal variations. Nevertheless it seems to us that in general they are hardly more than mechanical equivalents. Besides the two cases mentioned above, we find

vīśvāsu tvā dīkṣu sādāyāmi KS. ApŚ . *vīśvāsu dīkṣu sīda* MS ApŚ. MŚ
arnave tvā sadane sādāyāmi VS MS KS ŚB *arnave sadane sīda* TS

ApŚ

sarire (MS *sahle*) *tvā sadane sādāyāmi* VS MS KS ŚB . *sahle sadane sīda* TS

samudre tvā sadane sādāyāmi VS MS KS ŚB. : *samudre sadane sīda* TS
apām tvā kṣaye sādāyāmi VS MS KS ŚB. *apām kṣaye sīda* TS.

apām tvā gahman sādāyāmi samudrasayodmann avataś chāyāyām MS
MŚ . *apām tvodman sādāyāmi* VS TS MS KS ŚB *apām gambhan sīda* VS ŚB

prthivyā mūrdhan sīda yaṣṭīye loke KS *prthivyās tvā mūrdhan sādāyāmi yaṣṭīye loke* ApŚ.

un nambhaya prthivīm TS MS KS ApŚ 'split open the earth': *pranabhasva prthivi* AV. 'burst open, O earth' AVPpp agrees with the others

evam aham āyusā medhayā varcasā samedhīṣṭya SMB *evam mām āyusā samedhaya* ApMB HG Cf *brahmavarcasenānnādyena samedhaya* AG HG 'May I prosper (make me to prosper) with life' etc

brahmavarcasam māgamayāt TS 'let holy splendor come to me' *brahmavarcasam mā gamayet* Vait 'let him make holy splendor come to me'

apa cakrā avṛtsata KB ŚŚ . *mā cakrā avṛtsata* MS †. *apa cakrāni var-taya* TB ApŚ

dr̥ṇhantām dauvīr viśah kalpantām manuṣyāh KS †: *kalpayatam dauvīr viśah kalpayatam mānuṣyāh* TB ApŚ.

rṣayah (sc. *tr̥pyantu*) AG. ŚG : (*om*) *rṣāns tarpayāmi* BDh Also with *nakṣatrāni*, etc.

agnis tṛpyatu ŚG . (om) *agnim tarpayāmi* BDh
brahmā (sc *tṛpyatu*) AG. ŚG : (om) *brahmānam tarpayāmi* BDh Also
 with *prajāpatiḥ*, *viśnuḥ*, *vāyuh*, etc
saṃjīvā (ApŚ AŚ **°vikā*) *nāma stha tā imam* (AŚ *imam amum*) *saṃjīva-*
yata MS AŚ. (bis) ApŚ *saṃjīvā stha saṃjīvyāsam* AV.
utāmam nākam (VS MS KS ŚB. *utāme nāke*) *adhī rohayemam* (VS
 MS KS ŚB *rohayānam*, TA *rohemam*) AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB
 TA The TA version may be rendered at a pinch, 'ascend thou
 this highest heaven' But the meter, and text-chronology, show
 that it is really a corruption, phonetic in character (*aya*, *aye e*)
ajāñānah (SV *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkāḥ* RV SV 'Born, thou
 didst swell the sun (begetting the sun, thou didst swell him) with
 light'

We may add one similar case in which the reduplicated (causative)
 aorist figures, cf. §201:

ganān me mā vī tīrṣaḥ (MŚ *°ṣat*) TS MŚ 'do not make my troops go
 thirsty': *ganā me mā vī tīrṣan* VS TS ŚB 'may my troops not go
 thirsty'

§239 b *Causative and primary verbs with corresponding change of
 meaning*

te arṣantu te varṣantu te kṛnvantu LŚ 'they (waters) shall flow, shall rain,
 shall perform': *te varṣanti te varṣayanti* AV. 'they rain, they cause
 to rain'.

mandūkyā su saṃgamāḥ (TA *gamaya*) RV † TA . *mandūky apsu śam*
bhuvah AV 'Unite (thyself, or, unite it, sc the ominous funeral
 fire) with the female frog' Addressed to the water-plant (or
 plants) which are spoken of in the preceding pādas The AV has
 a mere corruption TA comm reads *mandūkyāsu* (= *mandūka-*
plavanayogyāsu apsu) *saṃgamaya* (= *imam pretadeham prāpaya*,
 which is unintelligent)

(*vi na indra mṛdho jāhi*) *kanīkhunad iva sāpayan* (AŚ *canīkhudad yath-*
āsapam) TB AŚ Dubious, TB comm connects *kanīkhunad* with
khan, cf Whitney, *Roots*, s v. *khud*

āsvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ. *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ See §30

Participles

viśnuḥ śipivīṣṭa ūrāv (VSK *ūrā*) *āsannah* VS VSK . *śipivīṣṭa āsādītaḥ*
 (KS *°viṣṭa ūrā āsādyamānah*) TS KS Both forms may be ren-
 dered by the English 'seated', yet the sense is not quite the same,
 since *sannah* is neuter (intransitive), 'having taken his seat', while
 the other forms mean 'having been (or being) seated, given a seat'

rucito gharmaḥ MS. KB. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ ApŚ. MŚ.: *rocito gharma ruciya* TA.

deva gharma rucitas tvam deveṣv ā MŚ.: *rocitas tvam deva gharma deveṣv asī* TA

c. *Causative and primary verbs, both in the same sense*

§240 The line between this and the last group is not always easy to draw, but in most of the following instances, at any rate, there seems to be no real difference in meaning between the causative verb-form and the non-causative, while in the preceding we seem to find at least a shade of difference. The meaning is, of course, always transitive, unless middle, and generally the primary verb is capable of an intransitive meaning too, which may often be suspected of being the older. Hence it is sometimes doubtful whether we should speak of 'causative in primary sense' or of 'primary in causative sense'. In the RV itself we find such pairs as:

mādayasva (and, *mandasvā su*) *svarnare*, 'enjoy thyself at Svarṇara's sacrifice', or,

mitro janān yātayati bruvānah, 3 59. 1, and *janam ca mitro yatati bruvānah*, 7 36 2. 'calling himself Mitra, he orders (sets in order) the folk' (somewhat differently Geldner, *Ved St* 3. 15ff). To find a difference in these cases would seem to us like hearing the grass grow. And, if possible even more surely, there cannot be the slightest difference in the following

ud vandanam arayatam svar dṛśe 1. 112 5, *ud vandanam aratam dansanābhīh* 1. 118 6, 'ye (Aśvins) brought forth Vandana' etc

In the Vāḷakhilya passages *yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavah*, and, *yam te svadhāvan svadanti gūrtayah*, the form *svadayanti* may not be causative, see §194.

§241 In the following list the approximation of the causative stem *janaya* to its primary correspondent is worthy of note. In the RV. already it is practically impossible to differentiate these two forms in the active, as in 3 31 15, *indro ajanad...sūryam*: 9. 110 3, *ajjano hi pavamāna sūryam*.

lāsām svasṛ ajanayat (MS *sva ajanan*, KS † *svasṛ* [ms *svasūr*] *ajanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS MS. KS. The TS is poor metrically.

madhu janīṣye (AV. *janīṣya*) AV TS TA ŚŚ. 'I shall (may I) generate honey'. *madhu kariṣyāmi madhu janayīṣyāmi madhu bhaviṣyati* JB

āpo asmān (MS *mā*) *mālarah śundhayantu* (AV MS KS *sūdayantu*; TS. ApŚ *śundhantu*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS. ŚB AŚ. ApŚ.

arejetām (TB *arejayatām*) *rodasī pājasā girā* RV TB The meter shows that TB has a mere blunder, phonetic in character (hyper-Sanskritic *aya* for *e*, as a reaction against dialectic *e* for *aya*, our Phonetic Variants will show a considerable number of analogous cases) It is more or less the reverse of what has happened in the variant *uttamam nākam* etc, §238

ūrdhvām enām (VS ŚB I.Ś also, *ūrdhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (VS ŚB. also, *uc chrāpaya*, MS *uñ chrāpaya*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ. Vait LŚ ApŚ Both forms (in adjoining verses in VS etc) mean simply 'lift her (him) up'.

utlame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ °*yadhvam*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ. *nālasya prṣṭhe sam iṣā madema* AV.

nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate (AA *dadharṣa*, ŚŚ *dadharṣayā*) AV AA ŚŚ See §140

ud dharṣantām maghavan vājīnām AV. *ud dharṣaya maghavann* (AV *salvanām*) *āyudhān* RV. AV. SV. VS TS See §30 This variant properly belongs here since the difference in meaning between the verbs is obviously due to the difference of voice, not to that between causative and primary

prānam me tarpayata (ŚŚ *tṛmpa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ

satyena tvābhiḥghārayāmi (AŚ °*bhiḥgharmi*) TS MS AŚ MŚ. 'I sprinkle thee with truth' Cf *satyābhiḥghṛtam* (KS °*am asti*) *satyena tvābhiḥghārayāmi* MS KS

athāste dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpantām ihaiva HG. *atho yatheme dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpayantām ihaiva* MG. *ime ye dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam iha kalpatām* (read °*ntām*) AG: *punar agnayo dhiṣṇyā* (ŚŚ °*yāso*) *yathāsthānam kalpantām* (AV *yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva*, ŚŚ *yathāsthānam dhārayantām ihaiva*) AV. ŚB BrhU. ŚŚ Cf *yathāsthānam kalpayadhvam* ApŚ

sūcibhiḥ śamyantu (TS KSA *śmyantu*; MS *śamayantu*) *tvā* VS TS MS KSA

The meanings of the verbs are not quite clear, but both *śamyantu* and *śamayantu* seem to be euphemistic expressions for 'kill'. For *śmyantu* see Keith on TS. 5 2 11 1.

vaiśvānarah pavitā mā punātu AV 'Vaiśvānara the purifier shall purify me': *vaiśvānarah pavayān nah pavitrān* TA 'Vaiśvānara shall purify us with purifiers'

[*nama uccairghoṣyākrandayate* VS TS *nama ākrandayata uccairghoṣāya* MS KS† The Conc quotes *ākrandata* for KS]

d *Different forms of the Causative*

§242. In a few cases the grade of the root varies between the *guna* and *vrddhi* stages (Whitney, *Grammar* 1042e, g); and in one the stems *sūdaya* and *svadaya* interchange, but the 'causative' value is here somewhat dubious

yavayārātīh VS TS ŚB *yavayārātīm* (KS and MS p p *yāv°*) MS
KS Kauś

āyayāsmad dveṣam KS *yavayāsmad dveṣah* TS. VS ŚB Kauś
yavaya (√ 1 *yāv°*) *dveṣo asmat* MS *yavayāsmad cghā dveṣānsi* TS

vasoṣpate nī ramaya (N and 2 mss of AV. *rām°*) AV N *vasupate vī*
ramaya MS.

agnir havyam (RV. KS *havīh*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV
VS TS. MS KS The AV reading is metrically poor

[*tatra havyānī gāmaya* (KS Conc *gamaya*, but von Schroeder reads
gām° with one of three mss) RV KS TB ApŚ MŚ]

3. DENOMINATIVE

§243 The variants under this head are few. Most of them concern different vocalism before the denominative sign *ya*: *a*-stems appearing with *a* or *ā* (Whitney §1059 a, b), and variations between *i* and *ī*, zero and *i*, in this position. These changes were possibly rhythmic in origin, compare §§259ff. below, and see our volume on Phonetics, which will deal more systematically with such cases

devān devayate (TB ApŚ MŚ *devā°*) *yaja* (MŚ *yajamānāya svāhā*) RV
SV. KS TB. ApŚ MŚ.

agne prehi prathamā devayatām (AV. *devatānām*; MS KS. *devāyatām*)
AV. VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB

apānūdo janam amṛtayanīam (AV. *amitrā°*) RV AV TS KS

janīyanti nāv agravaḥ AV.. *janīyanto nāv agravaḥ* RV SV. AŚ ŚŚ

putrīyanti (AV *putrīyanti*) *sudānavah* RV. AV SV. In the same stanza as the prec., the *i* (ē), in place of stem-final *a* (*putra*), is probably suggested by the *i* (ē) of *janāya*- (stem *janī*, *janī*), cf. however Whitney §1059d

devā devebhyo (MS *dveṣv*) *adhvaryanto* (KS *adhvarīyanto*) *astuh* VS
TS. MS KS ŚB

apo vṛnānah pavate kavīyan (TS *kavīyan*) RV. SV. TS. KSA.

The remaining variants are unclassifiable. In the next following, both *a*- and *āya*-stems are best regarded as denominatives (*dikṣā*)—*agnir dikṣitah pṛthivī dikṣā sū mā dikṣā dikṣayatu* (JB. *dikṣeta*) JB. ApŚ. And others, see §§79, 160

In a single case a sigmatic aorist from a denominative interchanges with a problematic reduplicated aorist made from a primary root: *amīmadanta pīlaro yathābhāgam* (Kaus. °gam yathāloham) *āvṛṣāyīṣata* (AŚ °yīṣata; ŚŚ *avīvrṣata*) VS. VSK. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Kauś SMB. GG. KhG. See §§201, 285.

The stem *hṛnīya*, in *vājebhir mā hṛnīyathāh* SV.: *mā hṛnīthā abhy asmān* RV., is considered a denominative by some authorities; but see §195.

CHAPTER VI. INTERCHANGE BETWEEN FINITE VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS

(In a broad sense, including participles, gerunds, etc.)

§244 We have previously dealt, as part of the chapter on modal variations, with a number of instances in which a perfect passive participle with or without copula interchanges with a modal form (§§143f). Those cases are to be regarded as part of this chapter also. Additional interchange between finite verbs and verbal nouns is found on a considerable scale, and is here treated under three aspects. First, a finite form interchanges with a verbal noun without copula, most commonly a past participle, which performs the same function as a finite verb. Second, the finite form exchanges with a periphrastic combination of verbal noun plus copula or similar verbal form. Thirdly, in a combination of two coordinate finite verb forms, one exchanges with an attributive verbal noun which leans on the other verb in syntactic dependence.

1 *Interchange between predicative finite verbs and independent predicative verbal nouns without copula*

§245. Such cases are quite numerous. The older grammar was in the habit of defining this type of verbal noun as the elliptic residue of a combination of verbal noun and copula, the copula being 'understood' or 'supplied'. These correspondences support the now generally accepted theory that the verbal nouns in question perform rather the function of predicate verbs, directly and of themselves. They are far more frequent than the cases in which the copula is expressed (see 2, below), the copula is quite superfluous and originally was, no doubt, expressed only for emphasis or for some special reason. A good example of the perfect equivalence of such finite verbs and verbal nouns, without copula, is seen in the opening pādas of RV. 10. 17. 12 and 13 respectively: *yas te drapsa skandati yas te anśuh*, and *yas te drapsa skanno yas te anśuh*.

§246. In many of these cases the finite verb is active, the participle passive. These belong not only in this group, but also in the larger class of Active and Passive; see §§80ff. We begin with them:
yuktās tisro vimṛjah sūryasya PB. *yunajmi tisro vimṛcah sūryasya te*
(MŚ. *tisro vimṛjah sūryah sava* [iti]) TS. ApŚ MŚ.

- yukto vāto 'ntarikṣena te saha* PB . *yunajmi vāyum antarikṣena te* (MŚ tena) saha TS ApŚ MŚ
- manyunā kṛtam* BDh *manyur akārgāt* TAA MahānU. ApDh
śirasā dhārayiṣyāmi (MahānU. *dhāritā devī*) TA. MahānU
caritrāns te śundhāmi VS ŚB . *buddhāś caritrāh* TS ApŚ
stomasya dhāman nīkītam (KS *nyadhām*) *purīṣyam* MS KS
āpāma manasā VS ŚB KŚ (VS. comm *prāplavantah*) · *āplam manah*
 TS MS KS TB ApŚ. MŚ
- upasṛjāmi* ApŚ MŚ *upasṛjāh* ŚB
- yasmin devā adhi viśve niśeduh* (Mbh *viśaktāh*) RV AV TB TA Mahān U Śvet U Nṛp U. N Mbh (ed Sukthankar, 1 3 65c).
- hato me pāpmā* AG MG . *pāpmā me hatah* AG *pāpmānam te 'pahan-*
mah KŚ : *pāpmānam me hata* (Kauś 'pa jahi) MG. Kauś And
 others, see Conc. under *pāpmānam me*
- āhatam* (VS. ŚB *āhanti*) *gabhe pasah* VS TS KSA ŚB TB. *āhatam*
paso nīcalcalāti MS
- hataś te atrinā krimih* (GG *kṛ*) SMB. GG KhG . *atrinā tvā krime han-*
mi TA. ApŚ · *atrvad vah krimayo hanmi* AV 'Slain is thy worm by
 Atri', or, 'I slay thee (you), O worm(s), by (like) Atri'
- athaiṣām bhinnakah kumbhah* SMB 'then their receptacle has been
 miserably smashed' (imprecatory, or perhaps contemptuous,
 diminutive) *bhinadmi te kuṣumbham* AV (for which Ppp has,
alho bhinadmi tam kumbham)
- ghanena hanmi vṛścikam* RVKh AV. *hatam vṛścika te vṣam* Mahābh
apīśrīnā u prṣṭayah and, *prṣṭir api śrīnmasi* AV (both)
- mithunam karnayoḥ kṛdhi* (SMB *kṛtam*) AV SMB 'Mark the pair (of
 calves; or, the pair is marked) on the ears'
- śraddhāyām prāne niviṣyāmytam hutam* (TAA *nviṣṭo 'mṛtam juhomi*)
 TA TAA MahānU BDh VHDh *amṛtam ca prāne juhomi* Prā-
 nāg U. Also with *apāne*, *udāne*, *vyāne*, *samāne*, and the same with-
 out the word *śraddhāyām*, see Conc
- [*yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS *bibhṛato*) *jāta-vedāh* AV KS · *yatra-yatra jāta-*
vedah sambabhūtha (TB Bibl Ind ed 'va, Poona ed correctly 'tha)
 TB ApŚ But both AV. (most mss *bibhṛto* or *bibhṛato*) and KS
 (v 1 *bibhṛto*) are very obscure, it is questionable whether the
 variant belongs here]

§247. In a smaller group the finite verb is middle (reflexive) with active value. Again the interchange is in effect the same as between active and passive, to be regarded in connexion with those treated in §80ff

teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam RVKh *yeṣām apsu sadas* (TS ApMB *sadah*)
kṛtam VS TS ŚB NīlarU ApMB *ye apsu sadānsi* (KS 'psu
sadānsi) *cakrre* MS KS 'Their (whose) seat was made in the
 waters' 'who made their (own) seats in the waters'

tvam yajñeṣu idyah RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB : *tvām yajñeṣu idate*
 RV

antar dadhe parvataḥ HG ApMB 'I interpose with the mountains'
antarhātā girayah ŚG. 'the mountains have been interposed.'

antar dadha ṛtubhiḥ HG ApMB . *antarhātā ma ṛtavah* ŚG. As prec
rocate VADh *rocitam* MDh

dakṣīnam (and, *savyam*) *pādān avanenīje* AB SMB GG KhG. 'I scrub
 the right (left) foot' *imau pādāv avaniktau* Kauś (in different
 connection), 'these two feet have been washed.'

§248 In the majority of cases, however, the verbal remains upon the
 same plane with the finite verb, whether active or middle, that is, both
 predicates, whatever their forms, express the predicative idea in the
 same voice. The difference between this and the class just listed will
 be made clear by contrasting the variant *teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam*, etc.,
 above, in which the middle with active meaning exchanges with a passive
 participle, with the following

nānā hi vām devahitam sadas (TB ApŚ. *sadah*) *kṛtam* (TB * ApŚ. * *sado*
mitam) VS MS KS AB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ *nānā hi devaḥ cakrre*
sado vām KS. Here *cakrre* (see Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkins Circulars*,
 December 1906, p 10) is passive in force, like *kṛtam* 'vari-
 ously by the gods a seat has been made for you'

pūrvō ha (TA MahānU *hi*) *jātaḥ* (JUB *yajñe*) *sa u garbhe antaḥ* VS.
 TA ŚvetU MahānU ŚirasU JUB *prathamō jātaḥ* etc. AV :
 'he was the first born (of old), and he is yet within the womb'

yo agnir agner adhyajāyata (TS MS KS. *agnes tapaso 'dhi jātaḥ*) VS.
 TS MS KS ŚB

yas ta ātmā paśuṣu praviṣṭaḥ TB ApŚ MŚ. *yas te prānah paśuṣu pra-*
viṣṭaḥ KŚ VSK . *yā te tanūḥ pūrṣu āviveṣa* AV. Here the par-
 ticiple, tho passive in form, is active in meaning, since the verb is
 intransitive

ya āvīṣṭo vayassu yo mṛgeṣu AV *vayānsi ya āviveṣa yo mṛgeṣu* MS KS.
 ApŚ

dākṣiṇto 'yam aśā āmuṣyāyanah MS MŚ *dākṣiṇto 'yam brāhmanah* ŚB :
adākṣiṣṭāyam brāhmanah TS ApŚ

aindra udāno aṅge-aṅge nīdītaḥ (VSK *nīdīdhe*) VS VSK ŚB : *aandro*
 'pāno (and, *vyāno*) aṅge-aṅge vīrobhuvat (MS † *nī bo*°, KS *nīdīdhyat*)

TS MS. KS. This and the following item are full of morphological and etymological problems. Perhaps render. 'Udāna (etc) from Indra has been sucked (?) into every limb.' On the active *nīdīdhyat* cf. the next.

aindraḥ prāno aṅge-aṅge nīdīdhyat (TS. *nī dedhyat*, VSK. *nīdhūtaḥ*) VS VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec. The active is anomalous; Mahidhara, *nīhūtaḥ*; Keith, 'may... be set'. It seems that it cannot be transitive.

yatra (MS. **yatra*) *naḥ pūrve pīlaraḥ paretāḥ* (RV. MS.* *pareyuh*) RV. AV. MS. (both): *yenā te pūrve pīlaraḥ paretāḥ* AV.

yasmād bhīṣā sanjñaptāḥ (ApŚ. *samajñāstāḥ*) ŚŚ ApŚ. 'from fear of which thou (the animal victim) hast been slain (from that make us exempt).'

tan me 'rādhi (Kauś. *rāddham*) VS. TS. TA. Kauś. *tenārātsyam* (ŚŚ MŚ. GG. v. 1 *'rātsam*, the correct reading) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ GG. See §§28, 85. As to the latter form, this item belongs under the first group above

om svadhocyatām AG.: *astu svadheti vaktavyam* Vait : *prakṛtebhyah svadhocyatām* YDh.

ṛtubhiḥ prabhūh (KS. *prābhavat*) TS. KS.

saṁvatsarena paribhūh (KS. *paryabhavat*) TS KS.

somāya vaca udyatam (SV. *ucyate*) RV. SV.

bāhū rājanyah kṛtaḥ (AV. *'nyo 'bhavat*) RV. AV. VS TA VāDh.

tapasā ye svar yayuḥ (TA. *svaṛ galāḥ*) RV. AV. TA

amṛtatrayā ghoṣayah (SV. *'yan*) RV. SV. The subject is soma; there is no finite verb in the passage with the SV. reading (nom. sg. act. pple). Cf. next.

bradhnaḥ samicār uṣasaḥ sam airayat (AV. *'yan*) AV. SV. ApŚ MŚ.

With the AV. reading there is no finite verb in the passage, and Whitney reads *airayat* with the rest; but cf. prec

vācaspatē 'chīdrayā vācāchīdrayā juhūā divi devāvr̥dham hotrām airayat (KS. *'yant*; TA. *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ omits) ŚB. TA. ŚŚ KS.

varakṣa (3 sg. perf. mid) *ṛṣro astṛtaḥ* RV AV.: *varakṣur* (adj, desiderative) *ugro astṛtaḥ* TB. ApŚ

vaśāyā dūgḍham apiban, and (next vs) *va° dūgḍham pītā*, AV.

patnī yīyapsyate (ŚŚ. *yīyapsyamānā*) *jaritāḥ* AŚ ŚŚ

carebhir carān abhi ṣu pr. sīdataḥ (ApMB. *'ta*) RV. ApMB. In RV. a gen. sg. pple, agreeing with Indra; *varebhir* applies to the Maruts, is *sīdata* of ApMB addressed to them?

[*sam agnis tapasāgata* VS. MS. ŚB.: *svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata* TA. 4. 7. 2 and 5. 6. 6. So Poona ed. in both places. Conc. with Bibl Ind ed. quotes *gatah* for 4. 7. 2, this is read by one ms and comm in Poona ed.]

Anticipations of the Periphrastic Future in -tā

§248a We group separately a few variants in which the verbal noun which varies with a finite verb is the nominative of a *nomen agentis* in *-tar*. These forms are, of course, interesting as precursors of the later periphrastic future; cf. Whitney §946 They are found varying with the present indicative, imperative (including that in *tāt*), optative, and injunctive (? subjunctive); the copula is not used with them.

yo dāśuṣaḥ sukrto havam eti (TS. MS. KS *havam upa gantā*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

somah punānah kalāṣeṣu śidati (and, *sattā*) RV. (both)

yantā no avṛkaḥ chardih; pra no yachatād (prāsmāi yachatam) avṛkam prthu chardih RV. (all)

gamat sa (gamema, sa gantā) gamat vraje RV. (all). On *gamat*, commonly regarded as subj but taken by us as *a*-aor. injunctive because of *gamema*, see §174

2 *Interchange between finite form and periphrasis of verbal noun and copulaic verb*

§249. We have drawn attention above to the rarity of this construction compared with the use of the verbal noun without copula as predicate. In the first two of the following brief list we have variation between active and passive constructions, as in §246 above:

ahnā yad enah kṛtam asti kim cit (ŚŚ *enaś sakṛmeha kim cit*, ApŚ MS. ApMB *asti pāpam*) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MS. ApMB.

ayam vai tvām ayanayad ayam tvad adhijāyatām asau svāhā ŚŚ : *asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'si tvad ayam jāyatām punah* VS. ŚB TA KŚ Karmap *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā ayaṁ tvad adhi jāyatām asau* (AG. *asau svargāya lokāya*) svāhā AG. Kauś *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā eṣa tvaj jāyatām* JB

kim ite viṣṇo paricakṣyam bhūt (SV. *paricakṣi nāma*) RV. SV TS MS. N. *devo devebhyaḥ pavasva* VS. ŚB.: *devo devānām pavatram asi* TS MS. KS. *viśvā rūpāni pari tā babhūva* (AV *paribhūr jajāna*) AV. VS ŚB.

tayāham vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyamānaś ca ApMB.. *vardhiṣimahi ca vayam ā ca pyāsiṣimahi* (MS MŚ *pyāsiṣimahi*) VS MS. ŚB TA. ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG HG.

vājino vājayito 'dhvana skabhnuvanto yojanā mimānāḥ kṣāṭhām gachata
 VS ŚB.: *adhvānam skabhnuvanto yojanā mimānāḥ kṣāṭhām gachata*
 MS.: *vi yojanā mimādhvam adhvana skabhnāta kṣāṭhām gachata* TS
 Here two participles, dependent on a following finite verb, vary with two finite verbs correlative with the latter.

ghnanto (MS ApŚ *ghnatā*) *vrtrāny aprati* AV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. The interchanging forms are preceded by finite verbs.

[*indra wa vrtrah tṣtha* (MS *dasyuhā bhava*),] *apah kṣetrāni samjayan* (MS °ya) MS. TB ApŚ.

āyur dadhad yaṣṭāpatāv (MS. KS °tā) *avhritam* RV. SV. ArŚ. VS. MS. KS LŚ ApŚ.: *āyur yaṣṭāpatāv adhāt* (JB. *ayām*) AB JB ŚB TB AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ ApŚ. MŚ. Each is the 2d pāda of its stanza, but the two stanzas are otherwise wholly different. However, each has a parallel finite verb in pāda a, on which the pple *dadhat* depends *pari dyāvāpṛthivī sadya āyam* (VS. *itvā*) AV VS Followed by (different) finite verbs.

taṁ tvābhāḥ suṣṭutibhir vājayanta, ājīm na jagmur gīrvāho aśvāḥ RV. *taṁ tvā girah suṣṭutayo vājayanty, ājīm na gīrvavāho jigyur aśvāḥ* SV. *anavahāyāsmān* (KS adds *devī dakṣiṇe*) *devayānena pathā* (TS. *patheta*, KS. *pathā yatī*) *sukṛtām loke sīdata* (KS. *sīda*) TS MS KS.

varṣman kṣatrasya (AV. *rāṣṭrasya*) *kakubhi* (TB Poona ed also °bhi, but comm. and Bibl. Ind ed. °bhṛḥ; comm gloss *uttamāṅge*; MS *kakubbhah*; AV *kakudī*) *śīśrīyāṇah* (AV. TB. *śrayasva*) AV. TS MS. TB Followed in all by *tato na ugro vi bhajā vasūni*.

viśvāvasur abhi tan no grṇātu, divyo gandharvo rajaso vimānah, yad vā ghā satyam uta yan na vidma, dhryo hinvāno dhrya in no avyāḥ RV TA.: *īrebhur adhi tan no grṇāno, rajaso vimāno, yad vā ghā satyam uta yan na vidma, dhrya invāno dhiya in no avyāt* MS. (apparently defective and corrupt)

[*upa no matrāvarunāv ihāvalam* (MS *utā no matrāvarunā ihāgataṁ*)] *anvādīdhyāthām iha* (MS *manmā dīdhyānā utā*) *nah sakhāyā* MS. TB. TA.

dāsyann adāsyann uta samgrṇāmi (TA. *uta vā karīṣyan*) AV. TA : *dhīpsyam vā samcakara janebhyah* MS : *yad vādāsyann samjagārā janebhyah* TB Ppp also reads *vā karīṣyan* for *samgrṇāmi* of AV. 6 71. 3 For others, see §231.

uśasah śreyasāḥ-śreyasīr dadhat (so read with Poona ed of TB) TB. ApŚ.: *uśām-uśām śreyasīm dhehy asmai* AV. Joined in TB ApŚ to what in AV. is the next verse, ending: *rāyaspoṣam iṣam ūrjam asmāsu dhehī* TB. ApŚ, *aiśām ūrjam rayīm āsmāsu dhehī* AV.

tirah purū cid arnavam jagannān (SV. °vān jagamyāh) RV. AV SV
Preceded in RV AV by *vavrtiyām* (SV. *vavrtiyāh*).

[*vyarti dhūmam aruṣam* (MS KS °ṣo) *bharibhrah*] *uc chukrena socaṣā*
dyām inakṣan (TS ApMB. °kṣat) RV. VS TS KS MS ApMB.
See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 299.

upasrjan (AŚ °jam; ŚG *upa srjam*) *dharunam mātṛe* (AB AŚ omī
mātṛe) *dharuno mātaram* (AB AŚ LŚ MŚ *mātaram dharuno*;
ApŚ *mātara dharuno*) *dhayan* (followed by, *rāyas poṣam asmāsu*
didharat) VS AB ŚB JB AŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG But the read-
ing -*srjam* is doubtful, perhaps -*srjan* is to be read everywhere
'Loosing (I have loosed) the suckling (to his dam), the suckling as he
milks his dam—may he maintain growth of wealth among us'

[*rdhad yas te sudānave*] *dhuyā martah śaśamate*, [ūtī śa brhato divo, divo
anho na tarati] RV 'der mann gedienet welcher dir dem reichen
dienet andachtsvoll, er durch des grossen himmels schutz durch-
setzt den feind wie eine schlucht' (Grassmann). [*sa ghā yas te divo*
naro] *dhuyā martasya śamatah*, [ūtī sa brhato divo, divo anho na
tarati] SV (very corrupt, hardly deserves citation under this rub-
ric, *śamatah* gen sg pple with *martasya*)

sahasrapoṣam puṣyantī paramena paśunā krīyasva (KS *krīyase*) MS
KS *paramena paśunā krīyase sahasrapoṣam puṣeyam* VS ŚB .
tasyās te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantiyās paramena paśunā krīnāmi TS
saha jarāyunāva sarpatu (ApMB °yunā nṣkramya) HG ApMB Prec.
by *ejatu* in both For other forms of the variant see §329

[*huvāno vācam iṣyasi, pavamāna vidharmanī*] *akrān devo na sūryah* RV .
[*jagñāno vācam iṣyasi, pavamāna vidharmanī*] *krandam devo na sūr-
yah* SV

tā devī devatremam yajñam nayata (KS *kṛtvā*, TS MS *dhatta*), followed
by *upahūtāh somasya pibata*, VS TS MS KS ŚB

dirgham āyur yajamānāya kṛnvan (MŚ *vinda*) TB ApŚ MŚ, followed
in TB ApŚ by *āṅghri*, in MŚ by *āsīdasva*

te (masc plur.) *no nakṣatre havam āgamaṣṭhāh* ('most coming', followed
by *juṣantām*) TB 3 1 1 6c *te* (fem dual) *no nakṣatre havam ā*
gametaṁ (2 dual opt) TB 3 1 3 1d

svargān (AŚ text *svagān*, Vait *svargam*) *arvanto jayata* (AŚ °tah, Vait
jayema) SV AŚ ŚŚ Vait. Preceded by *agman* AŚ, if not cor-
rupt, understands *jayatah* as nom plur pple, cf §306

avimuktacakra (sc *tīre*) *āsīran* PG *vivṛttacakrā* (sc *prajāh*) *āsīnāh*
ApMB HG (here preceded by *āhuh*).

ahāh śarīram (TB *ahāc charīram*) *payasā sameti* (TB *sametya*) TB
Vait Followed by *bhavaḥ*

patyur anuvratā bhūtvā AV. *agner anuvratā bhūtvā* TS KS TB MŚ.

ApMB : *mām anuvratā bhava* HG. The first two versions are followed by finite verbs

sarāh patatrinīṅ sthāna (KS. *stha*) TS. MS KS. *sarā patatrinī'bhūtvā*

AV. (here followed by *ehi*) *sīrāh patatrinī sthāna* RV VS.

abhyarṣan (SV. *abhy arṣa*) *stotrbhyo vīravat yaśah* RV. SV. In both *pavate* precedes.

(*ā te yatante rathyo yathā prthak*) *chardhānsy agne ajarāni* (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ See §27.

tiṣṭhann (GB *caratv*) *āsino yadī vā svapann api* ŚB. GB. Prec in both by *śramād anyatra parivartamānaḥ* (not *°nāh* as Conc. reads).

(*vi yat pavitram dhiṣṇā atavata*) *gharmam śocantah* (AŚ. *śocanta*, ŚŚ. *°tam*) *pravaneṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ *pranaveṣu*) *bibhratah* AB. AŚ ŚŚ. We have no confidence in the edition of AŚ. on such a reading as *śocanta*.

abandhv eke dadatah prayachanto, dātum cec chakṣān sa svarga eva AV. 'some without relatives, giving, bestowing—if they be able to give, that is very heaven' (Whitney). *abandhv eke dadata prayachād, dātum cec chakṣvānsah svarga eṣām* TA. Both forms are poor and probably corrupt In TA read *dadatah* with comm. and Poona ed. text; probably also *chakṣvān* (or better *°vān*) *sa* with Poona ed text, which notes v. 1 *chakṣvānsah*; the comm. explains *prayachāt* as *prayachanti*, which suggests that *prayachān* is to be read with AVPPP

caraty ananuvratā ApMB HG : *vicaranty apatuvratā* ŚG. MDh. Both preceded by finite *pralulubhe* or *pralulobha*

trīn samudrān samasrpat svargān (MS *°gah*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *samsarpa* (KS. *°pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ. *°gāni lokān*) KS ApŚ Followed by *gacha* See §130.

yajāno (or *yajā no*, so Garbe's ed of ApŚ., followed by Caland's Transl, the others all *yajāno*; MS p. p. *yajānah*, some mss. *yajamāno*; TB. comm interprets as pple) *devān* (MS *devo*) *ajarah svīrah* (associated with *gopāya nah*) MS TB. AŚ ApŚ It is questionable whether *yajā no* has any standing

datto (= *datta u*) *asmabhyam* (KS. *dattvāyāsma°*, AŚ *dattāyāsma°*, SMB. *dattāśma°*) *dravneha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS Followed by sundry finite verbs.

sa im vṛṣājanayat (KS *vṛṣā janayans*) *tāsu garbham, sa im śīsur dhayati tam rihanti* RV. KS The Conc. suggests emendation of KS to *-janayat*; but von Schroeder keeps his text, which is no doubt interpretable if somewhat harsh.

śalam jīvantu (AV. °*tah*) *śaradah purūcih* RV AV. VS. ŚB TB TA. ApŚ. ApMB. Followed by *antar* (°*tiro*) *mṛtyum dadhatām* (°*dadhmahe*) *parvatena*

āprīnānau vijahatā arātim (TB. ApŚ *saṃjānānau vijahatām arātir*), *dwi* (KS. *dive*) *jyotir ullaṃam* (TB. ApŚ. *ajaram*) *ārabhethām* (TB ApŚ °*tām*) MS KS. TB. ApŚ *vijahatā(u)*, dual pple.; °*tām*, 3 dual impv.

prajāṃ ajaryām nah kuru, rāyas poṣeṇa sam sṛpa SMB · *prajāṃ suvirām* (PG *suviryam*) *kṛtvā, viśvam* (PG. *dirgham*) *āyur vy āsnavat* (PG °*var*) TS PG

āhar-āhar (AV. TS *rātrim-rātrim*, MS. KS ŚB * *rātrim-rātrim*) *aprayāvam bharantah* AV. VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. *āhar-āhar balim it te harantah* AV.. *viśvāhā te sadam id bharema* AV. Followed by finite verb

(*upakṣaranti juhvo ghṛtena*) *pruyāny aṅgām tava vardhayantīh* (sc *srucah*) TB. · *abhikṣaranti juhvo ghṛtenāṅgā parūṇṣi tava vardhayanti* (one ms °*tī*, pointing also to °*tīh*) Vait.

sa pūrvavaj janayañ (TA ApŚ °*yaj*) *jantave dhanam* RV PB. TA. ApŚ Followed by *pary eti* (°*pari yāti*) in next pāda The secondary character of *janāyaj* (sol) in TA. is emphasized by its retention of the accent of *janāyan*

tat tvam ārohaṣo medhyo bhava TA (Poona ed *bhavam*, but v 1 and comm *bhava*), 'do thou, O spirit, ascend, become sacrificial'. *īdā ā roha puruṣa medhyo bhavan* AV. 'ascend that, O man, becoming sacrificial' See Whitney's Transl and note. Most mss do not accent *bhavan*

pratiṣṭhām gacha (GB *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB °*yet*) AB. GB. Gaastra considers GB corrupt

dyumnam vṛnāta puṣyase (KS *varela puṣyatu*) RV VS. TS MS KS ŚB.: *dyumne varela puṣyatu* KS Cf §163. *puṣyase* is infinitive *tenedhyasva vardhasva ceddha* (HG *cendhi*) AG HG The word *indhi* (°*iddha*) is better taken, with Oldenberg, as part of the following phrase, *vardhaya cāsmān* (in both)

ahīnś ca sarvāñ jambhaya, sarvāś ca yātudhānyo, 'dharācih parā suva KS *ahīnś ca sarvāñ* (TS °*vāñ*) *jambhayan, sarvāś ca yātudhānyah* (VS MS °*dhānyo, 'dharācih parā suva*) VS TS MS

dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcaranta (PB *abhisam*°) TS PB. TB PG ApMB : *dhvāntā vātā agnīm* (mss *vātāgnim*, both texts) *abhi ye sam caranti* MŚ MG The principal verb follows in the last pāda

sāhyāma (RV. *sāhvānso*) *dasyum avratam* RV SV. Prec in both by 1 plur finite verbs

samānam yonim anu samcāraṇtī (AV. MS °carele) RV AV TS. MS.

KS ApMB Followed by *caratah* The ed of KS. reads °carele also, but the single ms °carante, which as the editor observes might quite as well stand for °carantī

ādityam garbham payasā sam aṅgdhi (TS KS. *samañjan*) VS TS MS.

KS ŚB. Followed by *parwṛṇgdhi*

ubhayor lokayor ṛddhvā (MŚ ṛdhnomi) TB TAA. ApŚ MŚ Followed by (ati) *tarāmi*

[*punāno vāram pary ety* (SV. *vāram aty eṣy*) *avyayam*] *śyeno na yonim ghṛtavantam āsadam* (SV °dat) RV SV ApŚ *āsadam* is infn, 'to sit', SV. makes it a finite verb, 'he has sat', which goes very ill with the 2d person *eṣ* which SV substitutes for RV *eti*. Compare the *pāda* *śyeno na yonim āsadaḥ*, RV etc, which seems to have influenced SV

janīyanti nāu agravaḥ, putrīyanti sudānavah AV. *janīyanto nv agravaḥ, putrīyantah sudānavah* RV. SV. (followed by *havāmahe*)

[*vṛṣṭim divah pavasva rītim apām* (SV *apo*)] *jinvā* (SV *jinvan*) *gaviṣṭaye dhruyah* RV. SV.

jyok ca sūryam dṛṣe (LŚ *dṛṣeyam*) RV AV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. TA. LŚ. Kauś ApMB. HG.

(*parārciṣā mūradevāñ chrnāhi*) *parāsutṛpaḥ śoṣucataḥ śṛnāhi* (RV. °tṛpo *abhiśoṣucānah*) RV. AV.

devā amuñcann (AV. *muñcanto*) *asṛjan vy* (AV. *nir*) *enasah* AV. TB. HG ApMB.

puṣyema (AA *puṣyanto*) *rayim dhīmahe ta* (AA. *tam*) *indra* SV AA ŚŚ. See Keith, AA 285, note 7.

(*yo . .*) *hṛdārātīyād* (KS °yann) *abhadāsad agne* KS TB ApŚ Caland on ApŚ. not unnaturally thinks of reading *abhadāsād*, to match *arātīyād*; but KS is against it

marmṛjyante (SV *marjayanār*) *divah śisum* RV SV. Prec by *abhy anūṣata*

mā mā (KS *mām*) *hinsīṣtam svam* (KS *yaḥ svam*) *yonim āviśantau* (KS *āviśatah*) MS KS. *mā mā hinsīh svām* (KS † *svam*) *yonim āviśanti* (KS TB ApŚ *āviśan*) VS KS. ŚB TB ApŚ.

ut tiṣṭha (VS ŚB. KŚ *utthāya*) *bṛhatī* (TA. *bṛhan*) *bhava* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA KŚ MŚ

(*yad dha krānā vvasvatī*) *nābhā samdāyṛ navyaṣī* (*adha pra sū na upa yantu dhīlayah*) RV (*yad dha krānā vvasvate*) *nābhā samdāya navyase* (*adha pra nūnam upa yanti dhīlayah*) SV.

stuṣeyyam puruwarpasam ṛbhvam RV. AV. N : *stuṣva varṣman puruvar-*

mānam samṛbhvāṇam AV. *stuṣeṣya* is a gerundive formation, 'him that should be praised', dependent on a verb of the prec stanza. In the other form a different stanza precedes, and the finite *stuṣva* (which, as impv., transfuses the same idea into other words) is therefore substituted

venas tat paśyat paramam guhā yat (VS. *paśyan nihitam guhā sat*; TA MahānU. *paśyan vīśvā bhuvanāni vidvān*) AV. VS TA MahānU
Here there is no verb on which the participle *paśyan* can depend, TA comm lamely supplies *vartate*

[*bradhnaḥ samācār uśasaḥ samantarayat* (AV. °yan) AV. SV. ApŚ MS.
Again there is no finite verb here on which the pple. might depend; and Whitney adopts the SV reading]

[*ariṣṭair nah pathibhikḥ pārayantiā* (GB °tu) RV. TS MS KS. AB GB
But GB is merely corrupt Gaastra reads with one ms. °tā (dual pple)]

[*daśanābhur āśvinā pārayantiā* (TB °tām) RV TB Poona ed also °tām; but comm. °tā, dual pple, which is the only possible form, a plural verb being uninterpretable]

CHAPTER VII. INTERCHANGES BETWEEN EQUIVALENT PERSONAL ENDINGS

§251. The variants avail themselves freely of the possibilities of equivalent personal verb endings. The ranging of these interchanges covers nearly all the grammatical territory concerning this matter. We deal with them as follows:

1. *r*-endings varying among themselves, or interchanging with equivalent endings without *r*.
2. Subjunctive endings in *si* and *s*, *ti* and *t*, *te* and *tai*, *vahe* and *vahai*, *mahe* and *mahai*.
3. Imperatives in *tāt* interchanging with other imperatives.
4. Presence or absence of imperative 2d singular *dhi* (*hi*), and interchange between *dhi* and *hi*.
5. Second plural active endings with or without final *na*.
6. Endings in *a* sometimes rhythmically lengthened to *ā*.
7. Miscellaneous interchanges of endings

1 *r*-endings varying among themselves, or interchanging with equivalent endings without *r*

§252. There are two variations between *ram* and *ran* with wavering chronological indications (RV. *adṛśram*, AV. *adṛśran*; but also RV. *asṛgran*, SV. *asṛgram*). On the other hand, as between 3 plural middle perfects in *re* and *rire*, (Whitney, *Grammar* §550d) the more archaic forms in *re*, *duduhre* and *dadṛśre*, belong to RV., *duduhrire* and *dadṛśrire* to later texts. Unexpectedly, archaizing *r*-endings replace the normal 3 sing. imperfect middle *adhata* (RV AV.) in *adhadrāh* (SV.), *adadhrām* (KS.), and *athadrām* (TA, corrupt). Very anomalously the form *adṛśran* seems to be used as an active in several YV. texts, only TS. NīlarU. having the regular *adṛśan*. And the 3 plural present middle *duhate* varies with *duhrate*, not only once in the RV. itself, but also once between RV and AV., the AV. showing the more archaizing *duhrate*: *ghṛtaṁ duhrata* (and, *duhata*) *āśīram* RV. (both). See *RVRep.* 137, 562, and next.

te dakṣīnām duhate (AV *te duhrate dakṣīnām*) *saptamātaram* RV. AV.

See prec

asṛgran (SV. °*ram*) *devavīṭaye* RV. SV.

adṛśram (AV * ArS MS. KS MŚ °rann) *asya ketavah* RV. AV (both) ArS. VS. MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ KS.

trīr asmaḥ sapta dhenavo duduhre (SV Svidh °hrīre) RV SV Svidh Here the SV. smooths out, secondarily no doubt, the meter in an otherwise jagatī stanza, cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 287

śṛṅgānāvec chr̥ṅgiṇām sam dadṛśre (TB ApŚ °śrīre) RV. KB TB ApŚ Here the stanza is triṣṭubh

śerate (AB śere) 'sya sarve pāpmānah AB ŚŚ On these forms see Whitney, *Grammar* §§550d, 629 The AB, in an anuṣṭubh stanza, has better meter, Hillebrandt suggests deletion of 'sya in ŚŚ

apa snehūr (SV. snēhitim) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhadrāh*, KS *adadrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS : *upa stuhi* (Poona ed *snuhi*) *tam nṛmnām athadrām* TA In RV, 'the hero-minded (god) has driven away the enemies' The r-forms of even SV and KS are highly problematic; as to TA, the only certain thing about it is that it is badly corrupted, and this applies to more than the one word *athadrām* (the comm has a v. l. *athodrām*, its gloss is *adhodravanaśīlam*!)

utānam gopā adṛśran (TS *adṛśan*) VS TS MS KS *ula tvā gopā adṛśan* NīlarU The anomalous *adṛśran* is obviously felt as 3 plural with active meaning, 'Mahīdhara, paśyanti' It might, perhaps, be included under variations between active and middle without change of meaning, §38ff This variant is followed in VS. TS by: *adṛśrann* (TS † *adṛśann*) *udahāryah* VS TS

2 Subjunctive endings in *si* and *s*, *ti* and *t*, *te* and *tai*, *vahe* and *vahai*, *mahe* and *mahai*

§253 These optional endings of the subjunctive interchange, in general without chronological indications, but metrical criteria are sometimes involved, since the shorter endings *s* and *t* help to produce shorter lines As to the *e* and *ai* endings the phonetic relations between these two sounds must be considered, as set forth in §26, and furthermore some of the *e*-forms may be considered indicatives, cf §§118, 124

yathā nah subhagāsasī (AV *sumanā asah*) RV AV TA
yathā nah suphalāsasī (AV *suphalā bhuvah*) RV AV TA
subheṣaṇam yathāsasī (AV °sī, LŚ °sat) AV TS MS. KS. LŚ (the last secondary and metrically poor)

vīprā gātham gāyata yaj jujoṣati (AA °ṣat) AA ŚŚ *vīprāya gātham gāyata yam jujoṣate* SV

sa no nedīṣṭham havanāny āgamat (and once, *havanāni joṣat*) KS (ter)
sa no nedīṣṭhā havanāni joṣate (MS *havanā jujoṣa*) TS MS : *sa no vīṣvāni havanāni joṣat* VS ŚB

teṣām yo ayyānīm ('*jyānīm*) *ajītim āvahāt* TS. SMB.† (in Jorgensen as TS.) PG. BDh. *teṣām ayyānīm* (MŚ. °*nam*) *yatamo na āvahāt* (AV. *yatamo vahātī*) AV. KS MŚ

anu nau śūra mansate (TS °*taī*) RV. TS KSA.

yā na ūrū uśatī vīśrayāte (AV. °*ti*, ApMB. HG. *vīśrayātai*) RV. AV. ApMB. HG.

pari śvajāte (AV °*taī*) *lābujeva vṛkṣam* RV. AV N

pra yah satrācā (TB. *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB °*taī*) RV TB.

(*net tvā*) *dadhad vīdhakṣyan paryāṅkhaṃyātai* TA. (*net tvā*) *dadhṛg vīdhakṣyan paryāṅkhaṃyāte* (AV. *vīdhakṣan parīṅkhaṃyātai*) RV. AV.

See §234c, 27

yam jīvam aśnavāmahaī (MS °*he*) RV. AV VS. TS MS KS.

yayā gā ākarāmahe (SV. °*hai*) RV. SV.

(*kva tyāni nau sakhyā bahhūvuh*) *sacāvahe* (MS °*hai*) *yad avṛkam purā cit* RV MS. But in §124 we have treated *sacāvahe* as indicative.

3 Imperatives in tāt exchanging with other imperatives

§254 On this interchange see §150. It begins in the RV itself, in the first of the following list, where there is reason to regard the form in *tāt* as the older, see §100:

pra no yachatād avṛkam pṛthu chardih RV. 1. 48. 15. *prāsmat yachatam avṛkam pṛthu chardih* RV. 8 9 1

vīśucinān (VSK °*nā*) *vyasyatām* (VSK °*tāt*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB. *ūrđhvām enām* (or, *ūrđhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (VS *ŚB * MS *chrāpaya*)

VS (both) TS MS KSA ŚB. (both) TB AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait LŚ ApŚ.

nir anhasah pipṛtā (TB. °*tān*) *nir avadyāt* RV. VS. MS TB Is TB.

(both editions, text and comm) reliable? Comm *pipṛtāt pālayata*.

punar mānśatād (MŚ °*tām*) *rayih* VS TS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

sā (HG *sa*) *mām āvśatād iha* (MG *āvśatām ihava*) ApMB HG. MG .

sā medhā vśatād u mām RVKh 10 151 3d (correct reference in

Cone) For RVKh Scheffelowitz reads exactly as ApMB.

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmṛjyam gacha* (VSK *gachatāt*, MŚ *gachet*) VS. VSK TS. ŚB MŚ.

etam jānātha (TB *jānātāt*, KS *jānāta*) *parame vyoman* VS KS ŚB.

TB *jānāta smānam* (TS. MŚ *jānātād enam*) *parame vyoman*

AV TS MŚ See §104, s

īśtāpūrte kṛnavāthāvīr (VSK ŚB *kṛnavathāvīr*, TS TB MŚ. *kṛnutād*

āvīr) *asmai* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS. VSK TS ŚB. TB MŚ . *īśtāpūrtam*

(AV. °*tam sma*) *kṛnutād āvīr* (AV *kṛnutāvīr*) *asmai* AV KS The

patchword *sma* in AV suggests that its reading is likely to be secondary.

jaitrāyā (ApMB HG. °*trāyā*) *viśatād u mām* (ApMB. °*tān mām*, HG. °*tām mām*) RVKh VS ApMB HG

4. Presence or absence of imperative 2 sing. ending *dhi* (*hi*), and interchange between *dhi* and *hi*

§255. As a matter of grammatical genesis the forms with *dhi* or *hi* should be anterior to those without ending, and *dhi* anterior to *hi*; and the first and fourth examples agree with this. But in the third, *kṛnuhi* of Vait. is hyper-archaic as regards the stem *kṛnu-* §186 And in the second, *tanuhi* of LŚ is for similar reasons unusable for chronological deductions On this whole matter see most recently Bloch, *MSL* 23. 176; he regards *hi* (rather than *dhi*) as the regular ending with polysyllabic bases, and explains *śṛnudhi* (as in our fourth example) as due to the analogy of *śrudhi* from a monosyllabic base.

abhy-enam bhūma ūrnuhi (TA *bhūmi vṛnu*) RV AV. TA

asāv (asā) anu mā tanū (LŚ *tanuhi* [printed in text as *tanu hi*] *jyotiṣā*)

MS. KS. LŚ ApŚ. MŚ.

ojasvantam mām āyuṣmantam varcasvantam (MŚ *mām sahasvantam*)

manuṣyeṣu kuru (Vait *āyuṣmantam manuṣyeṣu kṛnuhi*) TS MS

AŚ Vait.

nṛñḥ (MS *nṛñṣ*) *pāhi śṛnudhi* (SV. °*hi*) *gīrah* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB

5. Second plural endings with or without *na*

§256. The endings *tana* and *thana* contain an extra syllable, as compared with *ta* and *tha* The longer forms are suitable for even syllable cadences (— — —, iambic dipody), the shorter forms for the corresponding catalectic cadence (— —) The RV. itself uses this correspondence to construct otherwise identical *jagati* and *triṣṭubh* pādas *asmabhyam śarma bahulam vi yantana* 5 55 9, and *yanta* 6 51 5, *adhi stotrasya sakhyasya gātana* 5 55 9, and *.gāta* 10 78 8

See *RVRep* 530, 563, where these appear among similar metrical and grammatical devices for procuring practically identical or very similar pairs of *jagati* and *triṣṭubh* lines At times the use of the shorter form is accompanied by the introduction of a patch-word as metrical compensation, or the longer form replaces such a patch-word, as in. *tigmāyudhāya bhāratā śnotu nah* (TB *śnotana*) RV. TB. N

These differences may suggest critical conclusions, as in. *paretana* (TS KS. ApŚ *pareta*) *ṇitarah somyāsah* (TS ApŚ. *somyāh*) TS MS KS AŚ. ApŚ., which doubtless read originally *paretana ṇitarah somyāsah*

We group the passages as much as possible with such considerations in mind:

§257. Passages without patch-word, and otherwise essentially identical:

tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana RV. 10 37. 11d: *athā naḥ śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. °*tana*) RV. VS. MS. KS. N.: *adhā naḥ śam yor arapo dadhāta* AV.: *athāsmabhyam śam yor arapo dadhāta* TS. In MS the p.p reads *dadhāta*; the longer form disturbs the meter of the (*trīṣṭubh*) stanza. Yet, most interestingly, one AV ms. also has *dadhātana*. This reading is obviously due to the influence of RV. 10 37. 11d, which occurs in a *jagatī* stanza, and where °*tana* is therefore in order.

paretana (*pareta*) etc., see above; the two RV. repetitions quoted above are likewise not repeated here

aihā rayim sarvavīraṁ dadhātana RV. VS. TS MS. KS : *rayim ca naḥ sarvavīraṁ dadhāta* AV 18 3 14d, 44d. All texts except AV. 18. 3. 14 have the pāda in an entirely *jagatī* stanza, where *dadhātana* is therefore appropriate, and so the AV. comm reads on 18. 3. 44. AV. 18 3 14 is *trīṣṭubh*, and so has properly *dadhāta*.

amī ye vīratā (MS °*tāh*, KS °*tās*) *sthana* (MS *stha*) AV. MS KS. The form *stha* is metrically poor.

sarāḥ patatrinīḥ sthana (KS *stha*) TS. MS KS : *sīrāḥ patatrinī sthana* RV. VS. Again the short form is inferior, and clearly secondary.

svāveśā nā āgata MS : *anamīvā upetana* AV.

ye ke ca bhrātaraḥ sthana (ŚŚ. *sthāh*?) AB ŚŚ. The form of ŚŚ 15. 26c is difficult. Tho it is written *sthā* and followed by a vowel, Hillebrandt (Index) understands it (doubtfully) as = *stha* + *ā* (rather than *sthāh* as given by Conc) It is in any case secondary.

§258 Passages in which the short form is filled out with a patch-word

sruṇā juhuta no (ŚŚ *juhutana*) *havḥ* TB ŚŚ. ApŚ.

ramadhvam mā bibhūta mat (Kauś *bibhātana*) AV. Kauś

grhā mā bibhūta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ HG. *vepidhvam*) VS LŚ. ApŚ.

ŚG HG Cf *grhā māsmad bibhūtana* AV. HG.

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu naḥ (TB *śṛnotana*) RV. TB N. See §365.

Here, of course, the shorter form, in -*tu*, not -*ta*, is not the equivalent of the longer one, the variant is quoted as showing a similar trend.

6 Endings in -a sometimes rhythmically lengthened to -ā

[§259. These cases do not concern primarily the Verb Variants, but rather the Phonetic Variants, and we shall reserve a full treatment of them for that section of our work, contenting ourselves here with a very brief summary and a bare list of the instances. The forms in ā are not regarded by the texts themselves as variant endings, but merely as phonetic forms of the endings in short a, on a level with the alterations required by sandhi. This is evidenced by the facts that all the pada-pāṭhas regularly substitute the form in short a for ā; that the ā is not allowed to stand at the end of a pāda, and that in TS it is not allowed at the end of a *landikā* (cf. Wackernagel 1 §265a, note). For this last reason, in two variant pādas, where all other texts have final ā, the TS. has short a, for the sole reason that the word in question happens to come at the end of that purely mechanical division of its text.

virebhīr aśvair maghavā bhavā (TS *bhava*) *nah* RV. VS TS MS KS
brhaspate pari dīyā (TS *dīya*) *rathena* RV. AV. SV. VS TS. MS KS

There is among the variants one case where some texts have the ā at the end of a pāda, namely:

vanaspate 'va srjā (KS. *srja*) AV. VS TS MS KS.

Here KS alone has the short a which is required at the end of a pāda. The case is however peculiar, and it is by no means certain that AV. means to end the pāda here. Indeed, all the mss., both editions, and the Anukramanī add to this pāda the next following word, *rarānah*; after which the text proceeds, *īmanā devebhyo agnir havyam śamitā svadayatu*. Whatever may have been the real intent of AV., there is no doubt that the YV. texts end the pāda with *srjā*. However, the whole stanza is a bungling reminiscence of RV. 3.4.10ab, *vanaspate 'va srjopa devān, agnir havih śamitā sūdayāt* (in the last pāda the YV. texts agree with RV.). And there is obviously a connection between the ā of *srjā* and the fact that in the oldest form (in RV.) the word did not end the pāda, as indeed it does not, according to the unanimous tradition, in AV.

§260. The lengthening of the final a is rhythmic, not metrical. See Wackernagel 1. §266a. The poets, to be sure, make free use of the license to lengthen the final a in syllables where the meter requires ā long. But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements, but of sentence rhythm. It occurred, originally, in places where the next word began with a single consonant, so that the syllable would be otherwise short (be it remembered that it never occurred before a pause!), and regularly where the following syllable was short; perhaps in the beginning when the preceding syllable was also short. That is, it was due to

avoidance of a succession of short syllables unrelieved by a long. In the variants clear traces of this fact will appear; we shall show, in our section on Phonetics, that the following word almost invariably begins with a single consonant, and that the following syllable is usually short. The preceding syllable, however, is short only about half the time, among the cases occurring in the variants. That it is not a matter of metrical requirements is shown by the fact that the lengthening occurs most often (among the variants) in syllables where metrical length is not required; it is much commoner in the first part of the pāda than in the cadence.

§261. All these matters will be duly set forth, along with other precisely similar cases of rhythmically lengthened final *a* in other than verb forms, in our section on Phonetics. The variant pādas which show it in verbal endings are the following, in addition to the above. The reader may be reminded of the somewhat similar variations between long and short vowels in the interior of causative (§242) and denominative stems (§243) and in reduplicating syllables (§271); these are probably also rhythmic in character. F. E.]

lam ā prna (TB *prnā*) *vasupate vasūnām* RV. TB.

āyuhotā (TB. ApŚ. °*ta*) *duvasyata* RV. ŚB. TB. (ApŚ. ,Pratika)

prāñca agāma (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.

apo devīr upa sṛja (MS *sṛjā*) *madhumatīh* VS TS MS KS. ŚB

agne purīṣyādhīpā bhava (TS *bhavā*) *tvam nah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

adītsan vā (MS. *dhīpsyam vā*, TB *yad vādāsyam*) *saṃjagara* (TB °*ja-gārā*; MS °*cakara*) *janebhyah* MS TB. TA.

sapta yonīr (KS. *yonīnr*) *ā prnasva* (TS KS TB °*svā*) *ghṛtena* VS TS. MS KS ŚB TB

varivasya mahāmaha (SV. *syā mahonām*) RV SV.

indra somam inīam piba RV. ŚŚ. *indra somam pibā imam* RV. AV SV
MS The p p of both RV. and MS *piba*, not *pibāh*, see Oldenberg, RVNoten, on 8 17 1

vayam rāṣṭre jāgryāma (MS. KS. °*mā*; TS and MS p p *jāgryāma*)
purohitāh VS VSK TS MS KS

vidma te svapna janitram AV. *vidma* (text *mā*; read *ma*?) *te svapna*
(pratika) Kauś

vidmā te nāma (AV. *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV AV. VS
TS MS KS. ŚB ApMB.

hinva (Vait °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ *gātrānī*) *harivah* TS Vait. KŚ ApŚ MŚ
gharman pāta vasavo yajata (TA. °*tā*; MS. °*trā*) *vāṭ* (MS *vet*, TA *vaṭ*)
VS MS ŚB. TA It is not likely to be accidental that TA, the only text which has a short syllable following, lengthens the final *ā*.

- idam me prāvata vacaḥ* RV. VS. TS KS. TB.: *oṣadhayah prāvata vācam*
me MS.: *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś.
juhola (AV °tā) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV VS TA.
ut tiṣṭhata (AV. Kauś. °tā) *pra taratā sakhāyah* RV AV VS. ŚB. TA.
 Kauś
pary ū ṣu pra dhanva (AV. °vā) *vājasātaye* RV. AV. SV KS AB. ŚB
yasmād yoner udārithā (KS. °tha) *yaje* (MS KS *yajā*) *iam* RV. VS. TS
 MS. KS. ŚB.
ud īrayathā (MS. MŚ. °tā, AV KS °ta) *marutah samudrataḥ* RV. AV.
 TS MS. KS. AŚ and *pratīka* MŚ
dyumanītam śuṣmam ā bharā (SV. *bhara*) *svarndam* RV. SV.
vahā (TB N. *vaha*) *devatrā dādhiṣo* (MS *dadhīṣo*, but most mss. *dhī*)
haviṣi MS KS TB N
janiṣta (TS. *janiṣvā*, MS °ṣva) *hī janyo agre ahnām* RV. TS MS. KS.
 ApŚ.
ramayata (KS. °tā) *marutah śyenam āyinaṁ* (MŚ. *marutah prelam*
vāyinaṁ) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ Three mss of KS also read *ramayata*
prelā jayatā narah RV. AV SV VS ° *upa preta jayatā narah* TS
yatrā naḥ cakrā (KS Conc *cakra*, with one ms., but ed *cakrā*) *jārasam*
tanūnām RV. VS MS KS GB ŚB. ApŚ ApMB HG

7. Miscellaneous interchanges of endings

§262. Here are grouped various sporadic cases of interchanges concerning endings

(a) Precatives 3d singular in *yās* and *yāt*

See Whitney, *Grammar* §838

- pari ṇo hetī rudrasya vrjyāḥ* (VSK °yāt) RV. VSK : *pari vo hetī rudrasya*
vrjyāḥ (TB *vrjīyāt*) RV. TB. See §104, u, and RVRep 573.
indras te soma sutasya peyāḥ (SV. *peyāt*) RV SV. •
narāśanso gnāspatir no avyāt (RV *avyāḥ*) RV. MS TB.
dhīyo hinvāno dhiya in no avyāḥ (TA *avyāt*) RV. TA : *dhīya invāno*
dhīya in no avyāt MS

(b) s-aorist 3d singular in older and later forms.

The older non-thematic type of conjugation of s-aorists calls for a 3d singular active ending *s*, for *st*, and after a consonant even the *s* is lost (Whitney, *Grammar* §888) This form exchanges twice with 3d singulars of the later type in *st* With these may be compared the forms which we have classified §202 as root-aorists from roots in *ā* (*ahāt*, *apāt*) which vary with s-aorists from the same roots (*ahās*, *apās*, 3d sing.); the *t*-forms may also be considered as belonging in this category.

agnas te tanuam mātī dhāk TS. TB. ApŚ - *agnas te tejo mā pratī dhākṣū*
JB

yan me 'dya relah pṛthuvīm askāntīṣū (TA *askān*) ŚB. TA BṛhU.

(c) Confusion of 1st plural *mas* and *ma*.

Aside from cases which may be considered different tenses, we find the following small group, on which cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§548a, 636d, 795a. They have of course a phonetic aspect, the final visarga was lightly pronounced, see §25 above. It is noteworthy that all occur at the end of pādas, or practically so (followed by a particle of interjection only)

tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smah (MŚ *sma*) TB MŚ.

abhiratāḥ smah (YDh *sma ha*) ViDh YDh BrhPDh.

viratāḥ smah (ŚG *sma bhoḥ*) ŚG. PG.

pratī bhāgam na dīdhima (SV. °mah) RV AV. SV VS N. Whitney,

Roots, s. v. *dhī*, regards both forms as 1 plur perfect.

iśānam tvā kuśrūmo (KS °mā) *vayam* KS ApŚ.

anyavratasya (TA *anyad vra°*) *saścima* (RV. *saścire*, TA. *saścimah*) RV.

VS MS ŚB TA 1st plural perfect of *sac*. But in TA. *saścima* should be read, with Poona ed text and comm (v. 1 one ms °mah).

(d) 1st singular preterites active in *am*, exchanging with *m*

In a case or two the preterite 1st singular active ending *am* is replaced by *m*, preceded by another vowel (that of the 2d and 3d persons), by analogy with the 2d and 3d persons. Thus, we have in the RV. itself this repeated pāda

vadhīd vṛtram vajrena mandasānah 4 17 3, *vadhīm* etc, 10 28. 7, where *vadhīm* is certainly made in direct imitation of *vadhīd*, see *RVRep.* 220, 564 Cf also:

tveṣam vaco apāvadhūt (TS TB. °dhīm, MS °dhāḥ) *svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB As (a) *vadhīm* is a blend of *avadham* and *avadhūt*, so *agrabhīm* in the following is a blend of *agrabham* and *agrabhūt*, and *abhīm* of *abhūvam* and *abhūt*

iṣam ūṛjam sam agrabham (TS °bhīm) VS TS. MS KS ŚB

abhyasikṣi rājābhūm (MS v. 1 °bhūt, ApŚ. °bhūvam) MS ApŚ : *abhyasikṣa rājābhūvam* (v 1 °bhūvam) MŚ. Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §830a.

The MŚ passage is quoted on Knauer's authority from unedited mss

(e) Subjunctive sign *ā* interchanging with *a* in non-thematic forms

The forms with short *a* are, of course, morphologically at least, the primary ones, see Whitney, *Grammar* §§560e, 701

yathā jyok sumanā asat (ApMB *asāḥ*) ApMB HG

yathāso mutravardhanah AV KS *yathāsā rāṣṭravardhanah* TB (no need to read *yathāso* as suggested in Conc.)

yat sanavatha (MS KS °*vātha*) *pūruṣam* RV VS TS MS KS

ṛṣṭāpūrte kṛṇavāthāvir (VSK ŚB °*vathāvir*, TS TB MŚ *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS VSK TS TB ŚB MŚ

punas te prāna āyati (so TS † TA *āyāti*, AŚ *āyātu*) TS TA AŚ

(f) Sporadic and doubtful interchanges of *babhūtha* and *babhūva*
tvam hi hotā prathamō babhūtha (MŚ SMB MG *babhūva*, and so 2 mss. of Kauś) TS KS MŚ Kauś SMB. MG Comm at SMB *babhūva*, *babhūtha*

patyur janitvam abhi sam babhūtha (TA °*va*) RV. AV TA 'Thou hast entered into the relation of wife to husband' The comm on TA, which reads *babhūva* in both edd, glosses *samyak prāpnuhī*. These two cases suggest interesting reflections on commentators' psychology, but they are not really as bad as they look, *babhūva* is probably due to a blend construction, with thought of *bhavān* or *bhavatī* understood. Such constructions are not unknown in the later language. See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 43 297, and below, §332.—A third interchange between *babhūtha* and *babhūva* is rectified in the Poona ed of TB, see §342

(g) The endings *masi* and *mas*

A single time, in late texts, these interchange, the form in *masi* being apparently the original, or certainly metrically superior

yatra vayam vadāmasi (HG °*mah*) ApMB HG

(h) 3d plural *ūh* for *uh*.

upo ha yad vidatham vāṇno guh (TB *gūh*) RV MS TB 3d plural root-aor of *gā*, TB (both edd) anomalous, comm *gachanto variante*.

(j) *īre* for *ire* in 3d plur perfect middle (passive)

tāh prācyā (Vait °*yah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *uyjgāhīre* (KŚ † °*hīre*, Vait *sam-jigāhīre*, all mss) KŚ Vait MŚ *prācīś cojjagāhīre* ApŚ

(k) Precative 2d plural with primary *tha* for secondary *ta*

ye 'tra pītarah bhūyāstha AV ŚŚ *ya etasman loka bhūyāsta* TS TB The form in *tha* is of course wholly anomalous, but appears to be read by all mss of both AV and ŚŚ, see Whitney on AV 18. 4. 86, and §17

CHAPTER VIII. MATTERS PERTAINING TO AUGMENT AND REDUPLICATION

§263 This chapter is concerned with two topics: presence or absence of augment in preterite forms, and various changes in the form of reduplication

PRETERITES WITH AND WITHOUT AUGMENT

§264. Augmentless forms are ambiguous, being either preterites or injunctives, the functional relation of augmentless forms to corresponding augmented forms is therefore indeterminate. This uncertainty is increased by the frequent correspondence otherwise between preterites and all sorts of definite modal forms which we have met as one of the established features of the variants. Just as those correspondences take place both in principal clauses (§§130 ff.) and in dependent clauses (§145), so the interchanges between augmented and augmentless preterites may be conveniently divided into the same two groups. The following list rests on the assumption that both are preterites. But in the circumstances of Vedic diction there is nothing to prevent one or another of them from harboring interchange between preterite and modal (injunctive) force. Thus,

bhargo me 'vocah' bhargam me vocah,

might be respectively, 'thou hast bespoken for me luster', and, 'bespeak for me luster'. Such a case would then have to be transferred to the rubric Aorist and Injunctive, §132. And, conversely, various of the forms which we have tentatively grouped under Preterites and Injunctives might perhaps equally well be placed here. See also §146 for a few cases of augmented and augmentless prohibitives.

§265 When the word preceding the variant verb-form ends in *e* or *o*, we must further remember that the following augment *a* is usually (and especially in late texts) represented, if at all, only by the *avagraha* in our manuscript tradition, and the presence or absence of this *avagraha* in our edited texts is often a matter of editing only, since the manuscripts are apt to be very undependable. Thus, in the above-mentioned example *bhargo me 'vocah*, the Conc. records MS 5 2 15 2 as '*vocah*, and Knauer's text reads so, but his note tells us that his mss. omit the *avagraha*, both here and generally. In such cases, therefore, little im-

portance is to be attached to this seeming variation. Hence we have separated in the following list the cases in which the verb is preceded by *e* or *o* from the rest

Preterites with or without augment in principal clauses

§266 a. Preceded by a word ending in *e* or *o*

indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG *sṛamo dadat*) MS MŚ ŚG SMB Cf

§193 Oldenberg regards *dadat* as modal, which is of course possible
tad agnir agnaye 'dadāt (KS MŚ *dadat*) KS ApŚ MŚ Agam *dadat*
may be modal

somo dadad (SMB. GG PG *'dadad*, HG *'dadād*) *gandharvāya, gan-*
dharvo dadad (SMB *'dadad*) *agnaye* (HG *gandharvo 'gnaye 'dadāt*)
RV AV. SMB. GG. PG ApMB HG MG See the preceding
two items.

bhargo me 'vocah (PB text *vocah*, comm *avocah* = *uktavān asi*, on MŚ
see above) PB. ApŚ MŚ AG. *bhargam me vocah* ŚŚ Also with
bhadram, bhūtm, yaśo, etc

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (KS TS TB *'yāt*) VS TS KS ŚB.
TB *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi* MS KS Here both forms
seem to be preterites, 'I have (thou hast) sacrificed away'; no modal
force is likely

(*agnis ca viṣṇo tapa uttamam maḥo*) *ḍikṣāpālebhyo 'vanatam* (AŚ *ḍikṣā-*
pālāya vanatam) *hi śakrā* TB AŚ So the Bibl Ind ed of TB reads,
in text and comm, but the comm treats (*a*)*vanatam* as modal, and
the Poona ed, text and comm, reads *vanatam* Probably no real
variant

[*satyam ṛte* (and, *ṛtam satye*) *dhāyī* (ApŚ *'dhāyī*, TS KSA *'dhām*) TS.
KSA TB. ApŚ. But Poona ed of TB reads *'dhāyī* See §85
Both forms preterites, but probably no augmentless form involved]

§267. b Not preceded by *e* or *o*

ā gharṃ agnir ṛtāyann asādī (TA *°dīt*) RV TA *ā gharṃ agnir amṛto*
na sādī MS

uktham avācīndrāya ŚŚ *uktham vācīndrāya* TS AB. GB AŚ Vait
ApŚ MŚ *ukthyam vācīndrāya sṛnvate tvā* AŚ

pitur vā nāmāgrabhīṣam (ApMB *°bhaiṣam*, PG *nāma jagrabham*) PG
ApMB HG *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh Stenzler renders
PG. 1 13 1 'moge ich den Namen eines Vaters erlangen' But
three preterites besides *jagrabham* make the construction of the
latter (pluperfect, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §818a) as preterite more
likely. See §§206, 219f

turīyenāmanvata (ŚŚ *turīyena manvata*) *nāma dhenoh* AV ŚŚ
utem anamnamuh (KB ŚB KŚ. ŚŚ. *uteva namnamuh*) TS MS. AB. KB.
 ŚB. AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

ayam punāna uśaso vi rocayat (SV *uśaso arocayat*) RV SV. The RV.
 form is clearly preterite, cf. the parallel *abhavat* in the next pāda.
pary abhūd (RV *uśarbhud bhūd*) *atithar jātavedāh* RV MS

indrāya suśuvur (MS KS. *indrāyāsuśuvur*) *madam* VS MS KS TB
 Cf §220. The form *asuśuvuh*, strictly speaking pluperfect, is really
 nothing more than an augmented perfect, doubtless secondary to
suśuvuh, MS p p *indrāya suśuvuh* — Yet more anomalous is the
 next

toyena jīvān vi sasarja (TA. *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA Mahān U. The
 TA has a monstrosity, see §220.

grhān ajūgupatam yuam AŚ *grhān* (MŚ *grhāñ*) *jugupatam yuam*
 MS. MŚ Both versions are indicative, being contrasted with
grhān gopāyatam yuam, see Conc

§268 *Preterites with or without augment in dependent clauses.*

iyam eva sā yā prathamā vyauchat (ŚG *vyuchat*) AV. TS MS KS TB.
 ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB

ūrdhvā yasyāmatur bhā adidyutat (VSK *atidyutat*) *savīman* AV. SV VS
 VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The variation is really pho-
 netic (*i' d*, surd sonant).

(*yam*) *svādhyo* (TB *svādhyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB *apsv ajījanan*)
 RV TB

anūdā yadī jījanad (SV *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*)
 RV SV.

yad enam dyaur ajanayat (RV *janayat*) *suretāh* RV VS. TS. MS KS
 ŚB ApMB Clearly the RV form is archaic, see Oldenberg,
Proleg 306, 313

yenāpāmṛśatam (SMB v l °*śatam*) *surām* ŚŚ SMB. *yenāvamṛśatām*
surām PG In a series of preterite formulas. PG. comm explains
 the lack of augment as Vedic license

yame va yatamāne yad aīlam (TA *elam*, but Poona ed *atam*) RV AV
 AB KB TA AŚ 'When like two twins in step ye went' Prob-
 ably no real variant

INTERCHANGES CONCERNING REDUPLICATION

§269 Many of these concern the quantity of the reduplicating vowel,
 and belong to the class of Rhythmic Changes in Quantity (cf. §§259-261).

they belong really to the section on Phonetics. Obscuration of the original principles of the rhythmic change has resulted in great irregularity, however.

§270. In a series of formulas *pīpīhi* of MS exchanges with *pīpihi* of TA. (and ApŚ), we thus have forms presenting the aspect of a double or compensating rhythmic shift of quantity. [It seems to me likely that MS understands *pīpīhi* as 'drink', root *pā*, while *pīpihi* certainly means 'swell', root *pyā* F. E.]

subhūtāya pīpīhi (TA *pīpihi*) MS TA And so with *brahmavarcasāya*, *iṣe*, *ūrje*, *asyai viṣe* (TA omits these) *mahyam jyauṣṭhyāya*, *asmai* (TA omits) *brahmaṇe*, and *ḷsatrāya* ApŚ also has *iṣe*, and *ūrje*, *pīpihi* See §192

§271 The next group certainly contains cases of rhythmic lengthening, sometimes with metrical bearings, but primarily phonetic in character.

udgrābhenod aṇigrabhat MS: . . . *aṇigrabham*, and *aṇigrābham*, KS *yiyapsyala* (AŚ *yī*) *wa te manah* (AŚ *mukham*) AŚ ŚŚ.

imam agne camasam mā vi juhvarah (TA. *jī*) RV AV. TA AG

grhān ajūgupatam yuvam AŚ *grhān* (MŚ *grhān*) *jugupatam yuvam* MS MŚ

prajām me (ApŚ also, *no*) *naryājugupah* (ApŚ and MŚ v. 1 *ājugupah*) MS KS. ApŚ MŚ Also

paśūn me (*nah*) *śansyājugupah* (ApŚ *ājugupah*) MS ApŚ MŚ And similar formulas in the same passage

śucanto agnum vavṛdhanta (AV *vā*) *indram* RV. AV. KS Whitney, Grammar §786a

trīta enam (read, *trīta enan*) *manuṣyeṣu māmrje* AV. *trīta etan manuṣyeṣu māmrje* TB The AV form is the more usual, but that of TB. is metrically better See Whitney, l c

§272 There is, next, a small group showing confusion between the reduplicating vowels *i* (characteristic of the present) and *a* (perfect), which marks a certain blurring of the regular tense distinction between these types. Cf the item in the Conc *hastagrābhasya dadhiṣos* (AV *dadhīṣos*) RV. AV TA.

pra bhānavah susrate (SV *susrate*) *nāham acha* RV. AV. SV VS TS MS

Here *susrate* is anomalous, cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 281.

vr̥ṣāva cakradad (and, *cakrado*) *vane* RV.: *vr̥ṣo acikradad vane* SV. The forms *cakradat* (*das*) are counted perfect subjunctives; Whitney, Grammar §810.

tāh prācyā (Vait *yah*, MŚ *cīr*) *ujj: gūhīre* (KS † *īre*, Vait. *saṃjigāīre*)

KŚ Vait. MŚ *prācīś cojjagāhure* ApŚ. Perfect forms, 1 is anomalous

§273 The rest are odds and ends which concern reduplication in various ways, they are mostly problematic. There are a couple of apparent perfect active participles with unreduplicated stems, one obviously due to haplology, the other perhaps corrupt.

viśo-viśah praviśwānsam imahe AV · *viśvasyām viśi praviviśwānsam* (KS † *praviviśānam*) *imahe* TS. MS KS Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §§790, 803a, and on AV. 4 23. 1

viśām vavarjuṣinām (AV. *viśām avarj°*) RV. AV. See Whitney on AV 7 50 2

Once the reduplicated *sasṛjmahe* exchanges with *samsṛjmahe*, the preposition *sa* replacing the reduplicating syllable *sa* · *agne sasṛjmahe* (MS *samsṛj°*) *gīrah* RV SV MS KS.

The remaining cases are not only anomalous but textually dubious *saṃ tvā tataksuh* (LŚ *tatakṣnuh*) Vait LŚ KŚ See §231, end We have little confidence in the edited text of LŚ

(*devīr dvāra indram samghāte*) *vidvīr yāmann avardhayan* (TB *vidvīr yāman vavardhayan*) VS TB See §218, end; read probably *avardhayan* in TB

[*jajanad* (TB *prajanad*, but Poona ed correctly *jajanad*) *indram indriyāya svāhā* (MS om.) MS. TB. TA ŚŚ]

CHAPTER IX. VARIATIONS IN GRADE OR QUANTITY OF STEMS AND ALLIED MATTERS

§274 The matters included in this chapter are more or less homogeneous in that they all deal with verbal stems or bases which present, in alternative readings, both quantitatively fuller and less full forms. We have found it convenient to subdivide them as follows, without very much regard for conventional grammatical categories, but so as to bring together forms which seem to us really to belong together:

1. Strong stems mainly of the 5th and 9th Present classes, substituted for weak.

2. Strong and weak Aorist stems (not including *r*-stems).

3. Strong and weak Perfect forms.

4. Interchanges between strong and weak stems in *r* (*ra*, *ari*), and other variants of *r*.

5. Interchanges between radical short and long *i* before *y*.

6. Other long and short *i* and *u* in radical syllables.

7. Long and short 'intermediate *i*' (in *se* roots).

8. Presence or absence of intermediate *i*.

9. Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms.

1. *Strong stems mainly of the 5th and 9th Present classes, substituted for weak*

§275. As compared with the almost complete rigidity of Classical Sanskrit in regard to the separation of strong and weak stems in non-thematic presents, the Vedic language shows remarkable fluidity on this point; see Bloomfield's article 'On certain irregular Vedic Subjunctives or Imperatives', *AJP* 5. 16ff. This is particularly the case in the 5th and 9th classes: and it usually manifests itself in encroachment of the strong stem on the weak. The variants, at least, show no case of the converse spread of the weak stem at the expense of the strong, whereas they repeatedly show the normal *īṛṇu'a* or *punīhi* or the like replaced by *īṛṇo'a* or *punāhi*. In one formula, *barhi* *stīṇīhi* or *stīnāhi*, ApŚ shows both forms. Of course the strong forms are to be regarded, at least morphologically, as secondary, and due to analogical spread from forms where the strong stem is regular. But it frequently happens that the chronology of the variants runs counter to this; that is, an older text

has the 'secondary' or analogical form, which is replaced by the regular form in a later text. Meter sometimes seems to have been concerned in the choice of the irregular form

nu: no

kṛṇota (AV. *kṛnuta*) *dhātman vṛṣanam* (AV. °*hah*) *sakhāyāh* RV. AV. *urvī rodasī varivas* (TS. KS °*vah*) *kṛnotam* (KS. *kṛnutam*) TS. MS. KS.

Here KS is metrically inferior, we may guess that metrical considerations dictated the use of the analogical *kṛnotam*

sunuta ā ca dhāvatah RV *sunotā ca dhāvata* AV Cf. *sunoty ā ca dhāvati* RV. The form *sunota* is well-known in RV.

yunakta sīrā vi yugā tanudhvam (AV. TS. MS. KS. *tanota*) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB.

nī: nā, and analogous forms

jātavedah punāhi (MS *punāhi*) *mā* RV. VS. MS. KS.

pavitraṇa punāhi (MS *vanāhi*) *mā* VS MS KS TB. ŚŚ

punāhāndrāya (SV. VS *punākā*°) *pātave* RV. SV VS Vait.

asmār. punāha cakṣase AV : *mām punāhi* (MS *punāhi*) *vśvatah* RV. VS. MS. KS.

barhi (MS. MŚ *barhih*) *stṛnāhi* (TS MS [text *stṛnāhi*!]) MŚ. ApŚ.

[once] *stṛnāhi*) TS MS. GB. ŚB Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. (quater) MŚ

sviṣṭam agne abhi tat prnāhi (PG. *prnāhi*; KS. *taḍ grnāhi*) KS. TB. ApŚ. PG. HG.

vivasvadvāte abhi no grnāhi (TS. *grnāhi*) TS. MS KS AŚ.

etam jānātha (KS *jānīta*, TB *jānītāt*) *parama vyoman* VS. KS ŚB. TB.

In one case the root *hā*, whose present inflection is analogous to that of the 9th class (cf. Whitney, *Grammar* 661a), presents a similar variation.

atrā jahāma (AV. *jahāta*) *ye asann aśevāh* (AV. *aśvāh*, and *asan durevāh*)

RV. AV. (bis) TA . *atra* (ŚB *atrā*) *jahāmo 'śvā ye asan* VS ŚB

2 Strong and weak Aorist stems (not including r-stems)

§276. Owing to the considerable mix-up between the various aorist systems, there is sporadic interchange between their stem-grades, a stem-grade appropriate to one formation is analogically transferred to another. In some cases there is doubt as to which aorist formation we are dealing with, and the variation in the form of the stem is itself often taken as evidence for the fact that different formations are concerned, it is, indeed, not infrequently the only such evidence available. See §§202 ff. for such examples. But the line between them and the class now under consideration is by no means always clear. Thus, in the first

example, it is customary to regard *bheh* and *bhaih* as respectively 1st and 4th aorists, and we have so treated them above, while *rok* and *ruk* are placed in this group as being both, apparently, root-aorists

mā bher mā roñ (VSK *mo roñ*, TS *māro*) *mo ca nah* (TS *mo eṣām*) *lim canāmamat* VS VSK TS ŚB : *mā bhair mā ruñ mo ca* (KS *rauñ mā*) *nah kim canāmamat* MS KS

§277 Similarly in several cases of s-aorists active, the *vrddhi* vowel alternates with the *guna* (Whitney, *Grammar* §887a), sometimes one, sometimes the other form seems original.

abhyarakṣid (AŚ. °*rāhṣid*) *āsmākam punar āgamāt* (AŚ *āyanāt*) MS AŚ *iṣam ūrjam anyā valṣat* (TB. * *vākṣit*) VS MS KS TB (both) N. See §167.

pra sakṣati pratimānam prthivyāh AV. : *pra sākṣate pratimānām bhūri* RV. AV. N.

ud akramid dravinodā vāḡy arvā VS. TS. MS KS ŚB : *ud akrāmāt* (pratikā) ApŚ.

mā (VS. ŚB. add *vayam*) *rāyaspoṣena vi yauṣma* VS MS. ŚB. : *māham rā° vi yoṣam* TS KS TA. ApŚ

iḥava stañ mā vi yauṣtam (ApMB *yoṣtam*) RV. AV. ApMB.

§278 In two cases the dissyllabic stems *grabhai* and *śara* interchange with their reduced forms *grabhi* and *śari*; see Whitney, *Grammar* §904b, Bloomfield, ZDMG 48 574ff

pitur wa nāmāgrabhuṣam (ApMB °*grabhuṣam*; PG *nāma jagrabham*)

PG. ApMB. HG : *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh

indra enam (TB. ApŚ. *enam*) *parāśarīt* AV. TB ApŚ. cf. *indro vo 'dya parāśarat* AV But for this last SPP with most mss. and Ppp reads °*śarīt*, the regular form

§279. In a similar manner the 1st singular middle forms of the *s* and *iṣ* aorists show variation between reduced vowel and *guna*, in four variants These forms may also be considered precatives, see Whitney, *Grammar* §§567a, 568, 923

sa yathā tvam rucyā roco 'sy evāham paśubhiś ca brāhmaṇavarcasena ca ruciṣīya (MS *tvam rucyā rocosa evam aham rucyū ruciṣīya*) AV. MS. The MS has the regular form, Whitney, *Grammar* §899b; cf. §907, where these forms are called precatives

vām te samdṛṣi viśvam reto dheṣīya (KS. *dhiṣ°*) MS KS : *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇiyāvatah tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛṣi viśvā retānsi dhiṣīya* TS The *i*-form is regular, Whitney, *Grammar* §879b, cf. §884

somasīyāham devayajayā suretā (MŚ *viśvam*) *reto dhiṣīya* (MŚ *dheṣīya*) TS ApŚ MŚ. *somo retodhās tasyāham devayajayā suretodhā reto dhiṣīya* KS

tad adya vācaḥ prathamam masīya (N *masīya*) RV. AŚ. ApŚ. N. The N. reading is not worthy of trust, tho formally regular enough, the meter is against it. See Roth's note, p 28 of Erläuterungen. For aorists in radical *r* varying with *ra* or *ar*, see below, §281.

3. Strong and weak Perfect forms

§280 The root *sah* 'be strong', exhibits interchange between *a* and *ā* in the radical syllable twice in the perfect, as well as once in the aorist (see the item *pra sakṣah* or *sākṣate*, etc., under the preceding rubric). Long *ā* appears in other forms of this root, as is well known (*sāhat*, *sāhyāma*, *sādha*, *sādhvā*, *sādhṛ*, see Whitney's *Roots* s. v.), in some of these (the last three, at least) 'compensatory lengthening' has operated; possibly the other instances are analogical extensions from such forms. *bhbedha valam* (AV AŚ *balam*, but SPP *valam* for AV) *bhṛgur na sasāhe* (AV. *sasahe*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ
yat sāsahat (SV. *sāsāhā*, KS † *sāsāhat*) *sadane kaṁ cid aṭṛinam* RV. SV. KS

Otherwise there are only sporadic interchanges.

krūram ānāṣa (KS † ApŚ *ānāṣa*) *marīyah* (KS.† *marīah*) AV KS. ApŚ.

Both are in reality variant 'strong' forms of the tangled root *aś*, *anś*, *naś*.

nirjaganvān (TS. °*jagmivān*) *lamaso jyotiṣāgāt* RV VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB. Alternative perfect participles, Whitney §805a.

svām cāgne tanvam (TA *tanuam*) *pīprayasva* (AV. *pīprā*°) RV AV TA. MahānU. Both forms are anomalous; they are classed as perfect imperatives, Whitney on AV. 6. 110. 1 would read *pīprayasva*, but we do not see that this is a particularly better form than the other.

ād id antā adadṛhanta pūrve KS.: *yaded antā adadṛhanta* (TS *adadṛhanta*) *pūrve* RV. VS TS. MS Pluperfects.

4. Interchanges between strong and weak stems in *r* (*ra*, *ari*), and other variants of *r*

§281 Here we group a few cases, mostly aorists (and therefore belonging also with No. 2, §§276 ff above), in which we suspect that the variation between strong and weak *r*-forms is more due to phonetic change or corruption. The three cases of *grbh* *grabh* are part of a tendency to reduce *r* + vowel to *r*, they will be treated along with similar cases outside the verbal conjugation in the chapter on Samprasāraṇa in our section on Phonetics. The solitary case of *jāgrīāya* for the more

normal *jāgaritāya* is best accounted for as due to the same tendency. In the sixth example, *bhartam bhṛtam*, we have root-aorist forms, analogous to *ruk: rok* above (§276). Somewhat similar to the variation between *r* and *ra*, *ar*, is that between *r* and *ri* in two variants presently to be quoted, viz *vayam rāstre jāgryāma (jāgriyāma)* etc., and *āpaprivān (āpaprivān)* etc., §287.

agr̥bhūt VSK · *agrabhūt* VS AŚ ŚŚ.

agr̥bhāṣata VS *agrabhāṣata* KS.

udgrābhenod agrabhūt (MS *ajgrabhat*, KS *aṇgrabham*, and *aṇgrbham*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

jāgaritāya (KSA *jāgrtāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA

śṛtas tvam śṛto 'ham ApŚ *śṛtas tvam śṛto 'ham* KS. Apparently pples. from monosyllabic and dissyllabic forms of the same base

bhartam (VS ŚB *bhṛtam*) *agnim purīṣyam* VS TS. MS KS ŚB. Whitney, *Grammar* §831a.

5 Interchanges between radical short and long *i* before *y*

§282. Before suffixal *y*, final radical *i* appears alternatively as *ī* in a couple of variants:

sarvān patho anṛṇā ā lṣīyema (AV. *lṣi°*) AV. TB TA. ApŚ. The *ī* is bad metrically as well as formally.

yūpāyocchrīyamānāyānubrūhi (MŚ °*cchrīya°*) ApŚ. MŚ. But most mss of MŚ read °*chrīya°*, and as this is (before the *ya* of the passive) the grammatically regular form, it should probably be read

§283. Somewhat similar to these variants, which are really phonetic in character and will be dealt with in our Phonetics section, are the two variants showing *i* or *ī* in denominative stems (§243, *janīyanti* and *janīyante*, *putrīyanti* and *putrīyantah*), and likewise, from another standpoint, the variant *vayam rāstre jāgryāma (jāgriyāma)* etc., §287, where influence of the following *y* may be suspected in the form with *ri* for *r*.

6 Other long and short *i* and *u* in radical syllables

§284. A miscellaneous list, as follows

avāmba (VS ŚB. KŚ *ava*) *rudram adīmah* (VS ŚB. KŚ *adī°*, and so v 1 of MS KS. MŚ, with MS p p) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ. Aorist from *dā* 'share'. The meter favors *ī*. *prati śma* (SV *sma*) *deva riṣatah* (SV *riṣ°*, and so RV p. p) RV SV MS KS. TB.

vājino vājajito vājam sasṛvānso (KS. *jigvānso*; TS *sasṛvānso vājam jigvānso*) .VS TS KS ŚB Roots *ṛ* and *jyā*, *ṛi*? Cf next.
ajitāh (TA *ajitāh*, ApMB and one ms of HG. *ajitā*) *syāma śaradāh śatam* TA ApMB HG Cf. prec TA. comm paraphrases by *ajitāh*
samāṅgayati (ŚB *samāṅg*) *sarvatah* RV ŚB BrhU The true reading of BrhU is that of ŚB, *°ṅg* is Boehtlingk's emendation
praśāstah pra suhi (KŚ *sūhi*; MŚ *suva*; ApŚ *suva pra suhi*) AŚ. ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ. MŚ. *suhi* looks like a blend of *sūhi* and *suva*
mā hṛisīṣur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB *ūh*) AV. ApMB.

7. Long and short 'intermediate i'

§285. There are a few cases of unstable quantity in the *i* which may be called, broadly speaking, the Sanskrit representative of the schwa-vowel in the second syllable of dissyllabic (*set*) roots, we include here *i* and *ī* before the *s* of the aorist, since that originally belonged in this category. Among the latter, it is noteworthy that we find both instances of 3d singular forms with short *i* where it should be long, and plural or dual forms with long *ī* where it should be short. The cases are very few in number, and probably analogical in both instances.

suśamī śamīṣva (TS TB *śamīṣva*; KS † *śamnīṣva*) VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

sa idam devebhyo havih (havyam) śamīṣva (TS TB. omit) *suśamī śamīṣva* (TS. TB. *śamīṣva*) VS. VSK TS KS. TB. *devebhyo havyam śamīṣva* MS.

amāmadanta pṛtaro yathābhāgam (Kauś *°gam yathālokaṁ*) *āvṛṣāyīṣata* (AŚ *āvṛṣāyīṣata*, ŚŚ. *avīṛṣata*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG. See §§201, 243

tato no mitrāvarunāv aviṣtam TB *tena no mitrāvarunāv* (MS. *°nā*) *aviṣtam* RV MS *aviṣtam* doubtless analogous to *avī*

mā wāgnir dhanayīd (TS. *°yid*, KSA *°yed*, MS *dhanayīd*) *dhūmagandhīh* RV. VS TS. MS KSA. See §174; Whitney, *Grammar* §1048, and cf. *indro vājam ajayit*, TS. 1. 7. 8 1, TB.

8. Presence or absence of 'intermediate i'

§286 The principal group under this head consists of aorist forms in *-ṛṣ-* or *-ṛiṣ-*, from roots in *r* Only the first two variants concern a root (*car*) which regularly forms both *s* and *iṣ* aorists; on these see §206. Otherwise the variants are apparently rather phonetic than morphological in character; they concern *svrabhakti*, on which cf. Wackernagel

1. §§49-53, they will be dealt with in our chapter on Insertion and Expulsion of Vowels, in the section of this work on Phonetics. They are of two sorts. Some concern roots which form aorists of the simple *s* type (Whitney's 4th aorist), in which an *i* is alternately inserted before the *s*. The others concern roots of the *iṣ* type (Whitney's 5th aorist), from which the *i* is sometimes dropped by a kind of 'hyper-Sanskritism', the pronunciation *-riṣ-* seems to have been sometimes felt as dialectic and vulgar, and is occasionally 'restored' to *-riṣ-* by late texts in forms where *-riṣ-* is the only historically correct form, as in the Kauś. reading *tārṣat* for *tāriṣat*, below. There are thus three divisions of these variations between *-riṣ-* and *-riṣ-*.

(a) From roots which form aorists in both *s* and *iṣ*

agne vralapate vralam acāriṣam (MS and MŚ. v 1 *acāriṣam*) VS TS. MS
KS † ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ HG
vralānām vralapate (Kauś. °*patayo*) *vralam acāriṣam* (MS *acāriṣam*) MS
TA Kauś

(b) From roots regularly forming only *s* aorist

dakṣam te bhadram ābhāriṣam RV *dakṣam ta ugram ābhāriṣam* AV
Most mss of AV agree on *ābhāriṣam*, tho the comm reads *ābhār-ṣam*, which the meter supports. No *iṣ* aorist of *bhṛ* is recorded
duteh putrānām aditer akāriṣam (MS *akāriṣam*) AV MS. The verse is otherwise *jagatī*, so that probably *akāriṣam* is to be read in AV with many mss and SPP, Ppp, however, has *akārṣam*, and if *akāriṣam* is the true reading it is a matter of phonetics rather than morphology, no 5th aorist from *kṛ* is recorded

yad rātriṣā (MahānU and v 1 of TA °*tryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA v 1 *akāriṣam*, not recorded in Poona ed) TA MahānU Cf. prec.
The meter supports the regular form *akārṣam*

tan nah pariṣad (MS *pariṣad*) *atī dñṣah* TS MS KS TB (Read *pariṣad* twice in MS, m 2 7 12c von Schroeder reads *parṣad* against all his *samhitā* mss. Acc. to his note 1 c KapŚ also has *pariṣad*) The form *pariṣad* is metrically inferior and formally unprecedented (RV has *pāriṣat*)

(c) From roots regularly forming only *iṣ* aorist

pra na (SV. MS PB *na*) *āyūṁṣi tāriṣat* (Kauś. *tārṣat*) RV AV SV VS
VSK TS MS KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ Kauś N. The isolated form of Kauś (all mss) can only be an ignorant attempt to 'correct' the supposedly dialectic pronunciation with *i*. This is shown not only by the meter, but by the fact that a 4th aorist from

the dissyllabic root *tr* is monstrous and unheard of. Cf. Wackernagel, 1 §53c. end.

āchettā te (TB. ApŚ *10) *mā rīṣam* (KS *rīṣat*; MS. *mārṣam*) TS MS. KS TB ApŚ MŚ In MŚ also *mārṣam* should be read, with all Knauer's mss. But the form is monstrous. Strictly speaking it is a 2d (thematic) aorist, from the root *rīṣ*, the *s* as well as the *r* being radical. But it belongs here as being an instance of hyper-Sanskritic pronunciation or *rṣ* for *rīṣ*.

§287. There remain only a few cases, more or less dubious in character, which present the aspect of alternative loss or insertion of an 'intermediate *v*' in other cases than when preceded by *r* and followed by *ṣ*:

puru tvā dāśvān (SV. *dāśvān*) voce RV SV. N Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §803a. *dāśvāns* is frequently trisyllabic in RV.; Grassmann and Oldenberg assume that the *v* is vocalic. The SV. here presents a secondary attempt to improve the meter

āpaprivān (MS. **prvān*, but *p p* **privān*) *rodasī antarikṣam* RV VS. TS. MS KS ŚB. These may be regarded as from by-forms of the same root, *āpaprivān* is connected with *prā*, while the dubious nonce-form of MS, if correct, harks back to *pr*, which has no perfect active. The variation, if real, resembles the cases of *Samprasāraṇa* mentioned §281.

rayaṇ rāstre jāgryāma (KS MS **mā*; TS and *p p* of MS *jāgryāma*) *purohitāḥ* VS VSK. TS MS KS The regular form of the opt. of *jāgr* is *jāgryāma*. This recalls not only the *Samprasāraṇa* variants, like the preceding item, but also (since the following sound *y* may be suspected of being concerned in the insertion of the vowel *i*) the variants mentioned under 5, §§282f

[*utkraṇsyate* (KSA *utkrāmiṣyate*) *svāhā* TS. KSA So Conc, but the sole ms. of KSA reads *utkrāmyate*, which von Schroeder properly emends to *utkraṇsyate*]

9 Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms

§288 Three cases which fall in nowhere else:

madhū ā yajñam nakṣatī (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV. *prai**) AV VS. TS MS. KS Ppp has *prīnānah* with the rest.

agne yā te tejāḥ tena tam atejasam krnu (KS *tam prati tityagdhi*, MS ApŚ. *tam prati titigdhī*). AV. MS KS ApŚ. The strange *tityagdhi* of KS 6 9 (p 59, l 20) is supported by the present *prati-tyakti*, KS 7. 6 (p 68, l 11). It is an adventurous formation, on

the pattern, say, of *vidh vyadh*, possibly, however, a thought of the root *tyaj* may have helped to form it

ajījapata (TS TB. *ajījapata*) *vanaspatayah* TS MS KS TB MŚ. Reduplicated (causative) aorists from the root *ji* 'conquer'; both, but especially *ajījapata*, are highly anomalous.

Cf. also the variant causative stems listed §242, and denominatives, §243.

CHAPTER X. PERSON AND NUMBER

Introductory remarks

§289. The very numerous variations in person and number of verb forms are superficially quite different in character from the other verbal variants. Yet fundamentally they resemble them more than appears at first sight. Like the rest, broadly speaking, they mark and illustrate temperamental fluidity, or shifts in psychological attitude. Thus, to begin with, an activity to be performed or a result to be obtained by the ritual action of a priest or sacrificer may be expressed by a verb in either first, second, or third person, and either singular or plural number. For many variants alternatively conceive the result accomplished, or the action performed, either by the priest or sacrificer (who may be identified with the speaker, the verb being in the first person, or addressed in the second person as being an associate of the speaker), or by some natural or supernatural potency, agency, or implement, in which power resides or is figuratively spoken of as residing, and which may be addressed in the second person or spoken of in the third. For instance, as the priest cleans various sacrificial implements, he says, addressing the implement. 'do not wipe off (from me) speech or cattle!', *vācam paśūn mā nir mārjīh* MS. MŚ. But other texts, in precisely similar contexts, say- 'may it not wipe off', or 'may I not (by this action) wipe off', etc *rūpād varṇam mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ : *vācam prāṇam mā nir mṛkṣam* TS *rūpam varṇam paśūnām mā nirmṛkṣam* ApŚ. The real meaning is essentially identical in all. A very considerable proportion of the variations between first person verbs, on the one hand, and second or third (or both) on the other, belong to this category in which the matter is credited now to the medicine-man or priest himself, now to an agency or potency, whether human, divine, or merely instrumental, which is associated with him and thru which he operates. See §§302, 304, 312.

§290. As between first and second person, another important group contains variations in which the subject of the verb is really the same in either case, namely the priest or priests and his or their associates, who may be spoken of indifferently in the first or second person. See §307. Thus, in *mītrāya (satyāya) havyam ghṛtaraḥ juhota* ('*vad vidhema*'), 'to Mitra (the true one) offer ye (let us offer) oblation with ghee', it makes not the slightest real difference whether the persons who are to offer

oblation are called 'we' or 'ye', both forms of the *pāda* occur in precisely the same stanza. Moreover, either or both of the verbs may in such cases be either singular or plural 'I' or 'we', 'thou' or 'ye'. Indeed, nearly all variations between first person singular and first person plural are cases of precisely this sort, see the long list in §345, of which the following may serve as an example *yad dhasṭābhyām cakara* (AV *cakṛma*) *kṛbīṣāni* AV MS TB TA, 'if I (we) have committed sins with the two hands'. In such cases it is often impossible to say whether the plural expression really thinks of a group of individuals of whom the speaker is one, or whether it is 'editorial', referring really to none but the speaker himself. In many cases, undoubtedly, the latter is true, nor is it at all necessary to suppose then that either 'majesty' or 'modesty' is implied in the plural form, altho such may occasionally be the case. See §344 for a few instances where first plural verbs are certainly used referring to the single speaker alone, e.g. *śatam jivema* (PG *ca jivāmi*) *śaradah purūcīh* PĠ MG, which is spoken by the graduate brahman-pupil 'may we (which means 'I', as in PG) live a hundred numerous autumns!'. Even MG has first singular verbs in the rest of the stanza where this *pāda* occurs — For a few similar cases of second person singular and plural, referring to associates of the priestly speaker, see §347, and for mixed cases (first singular and second plural, or vice versa) see §307, end, e.g. *śasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota* (*juhomi*), 'to him, Indra, offer ye (I offer) the pressed drink'.

§291 Another class of variations, involving both person and number, consists of generalizing statements, in which the subject is really indefinite, 'people' in general, 'one' (French *on*, German *man*). Such expressions are usually third person, most commonly plural, but sometimes also singular, as in *brahmaṣṭeyeyam itī* (AV *ṛjāyeti*) *ced avocan* (AV *ocat*) RV AV, 'if they (indefinite) have (one has) said, she is a brahman's wife'. See §359 for others of this type. Such generalizing third persons also vary with 1st or 2d person forms, which are sometimes definite (as are some of the third person singulars which vary with indefinite third plurals), but sometimes also indefinite. Thus we have a 1st plural indefinite varying with a 3d plural, also indefinite, in *yathā kalām yathā śapham yathā ṛnam samnayāmasi* (AV *yatharnam samnayanti*), *evā duṣvapnyam sarvām āptye* (AV *apriye*, or *divṣate*) *samnayāmasi* RV AV (bis), 'as we (= people in general, or, they) load up a debt, so all the bad-dreaming we load up on (Trīta) Āptya (or, the enemy)'. And even a singular form, 1st person as well as third, may be used in this indefinite sense *tam tvā bhaga sarva 13 johavīmi* (RV VS

°ti) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB., 'on thee, Bhaga, every one calls lustily', or, 'on thee, Bhaga, do every I call'. Whitney on AV. 3. 16. 5 renders mechanically 'do I call, entire', but obviously it can only mean 'do I and every one like me call', or the like; the surrounding pādas have 1st person verbs, and have influenced this. The TB. comm glosses *johavīmi* by *āhvayati*, which is by no means as foolish as it might seem at first sight, indeed, it may be called rather exceptionally acute—On the other hand it is commoner for definite 1st or 2d person forms to exchange with indefinite 3d persons, whether singular or (more often) plural, as in *vacānsy āsū* (SV *asmai*) *sthavīrāya takṣam* (SV. *takṣuh*) RV SV, 'I (they = people in general) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face (for this mighty one)' Or, 2d person *yenendrāya samabharah* (MS KS °*ran*) *payānsi* AV TS MS KS, 'by which thou (= Agni) didst (or, they, indefinite, did) collect milk for Indra' See §§314, 360

§292 Among the variations concerning Person, interchanges between 1st and 2d person are relatively rare, those between 1st and 3d are somewhat commoner, but by far the most numerous are those between 2d and 3d. The great majority of these last do not present any very startling features. Most commonly they simply concern shifts from direct address to a person or thing to indirect reference, in contexts where both are equally suitable. See §§327 ff. Not infrequently an entire stanza, containing several clauses, and several verb-forms, is remodelled in this way, so that we have a series of 2d person verbs varying with a series of 3d persons, as in.

navo-navo bhavati (AV JUB °*si*) *jāyamānch, ahnām ketur uṣasām ety* (AV † *eṣu*) *agram* (TS *agre*), *bhāgam devebhyo vidadhāty* (AV. °*sy*) *āyan, pra candramās īrate* (TS °*ti*, AV † °*mas īrase*) *dīrgham āyuh* RV AV TS MS KS N, first pāda also TB AŚ HG BDh JUB. VHDh, 'Ever new he becomes (thou becomest) born, as banner of the days he goes (thou goest) at the head of the dawns, arriving he shares (thou sharest) out fortune to the gods, the moon lengthens (thou, O moon, lengthenest) out long life'

§293 It will be noted that, consistently with the verbs, the subject here shifts from nominative to vocative when 2d person replaces 3d, and that the change is made with all verbs in the stanza. In the majority of cases the syntax is thus consistent in both 2d and 3d person passages. There remain, however, a good many passages where the change results in more or less inconsistency. Not seldom we find a third person verb with vocative subject. This occurs three times in the same stanza in the PG version of the following.

yena śrīyam (PG *śrīyam*) *akṛṇutam* (PG **tām*, ŚŚ. *śrīyāv akurutam*), *yenāpāmṛśatam* (PG. **vamṛśatām*) *surām*, *yenākṣān* (ŚŚ **kṣām*, PG **kṣyāv*) *abhyasīñcatam* (PG **tām*), *yad vām tad aśvinā yaśaḥ* ŚŚ PG SMB Here the direct address to the Aśvins (note the 2d person pronoun *vām*, showing that *aśvinā* can only be vocative) in the fourth pāda makes the 3d person verbs unconstructable by strict syntax. Naturally there is a temptation to emend in such cases. But the thrice repeated 3d person forms of PG seem to prove that such a temptation should not be yielded to lightly. Stenzler quite properly keeps the 3d persons in his text of PG, altho he translates them as if they were 2d persons. The comm supplies *bhavantau* as subject. Harsh as the construction seems to us, it was clearly the reading intended, and it is supported by many similar cases, listed §332. In the same pages we find also cases of the converse condition, namely, 2d person verbs with nominative subjects, as in

tā enam praviḍvānsau śrapayātam MS *tāv imam paśum śrapayātam* *praviḍvānsau* TB

Here only the TB is syntactically consistent; not only the pronoun and adjective referring to the subject in this pāda, but the noun subjects of *śrapayātam* in the preceding, are nominative in MS.

§294 A milder form of inconsistency is found in the long list of passages found §333ff, where we find no internal inconsistency of the type just mentioned, as between subject and verb within the same clause, but rather a shift from direct address to third-person reference (or vice versa) in parallel and adjoining passages. This produces an effect of more or less harshness. It is not always, to our feeling, so intolerable as it seems in the SV reading of the following

yat sānoḥ sānum āruhaḥ (SV *sānv āruhaḥ*) RV SV
This is followed by the pāda *bhūry aspaṣṭa kartvam* 'When he (Indra) mounted from peak to peak and beheld much labor'. The SV appears to say, 'When thou (Indra) didst mount from peak to peak and he (Indra) beheld much labor', unless, indeed, we may suppose that SV understands *āruhaḥ* as an anomalous verbal noun or adjective, depending on the subject of *aspaṣṭa* ('when, mounting etc, he beheld etc'). But the occurrence of very many other cases where the parallelism is broken almost or quite as harshly justifies us in supposing that the shift in person was not too much for SV to tolerate.

§295 Attention may be called here to a curious detail which crops out among the variants between 2d and 3d person. When the SV repeats a RV mantra containing a verb of which the subject is Soma, it shows a marked tendency to replace a third-person indirect reference

by a second-person direct address to Soma. For example, this occurs in each of the four pādas of the following stanza, the subject being appropriately made vocative instead of the nominative of the RV.:

agre sindhūnām pavamāno arṣati (SV. °si), *agre vāco agriyo goṣu gachati* (SV °si), *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV °se mahād dhanam), *svāyudhah sotrbhah pūyate vrṣā* (SV °bhah soma sūyase) RV. SV.

And so in practically every case found among the Variants as between RV and SV in which the subject of the verb is Soma. In seven other cases besides the stanza just quoted the accompanying text is syntactically consistent in both cases, these are listed §328. But in another half-dozen cases, listed §334, the second-person forms of SV. are more or less inconsistent with the context, which presents parallel third-person verbs even in SV. The reverse change of 2d to 3d person in verbs of which Soma is the subject is extremely rare in SV., and due to special reasons, see §335.

§296 Among the variants concerning number, perhaps the most interesting are those in which a verb with singular subject is made dual or plural by a simple process of multiplication of the subject, or by inclusion within the subject of another entity or entities, or vice versa in either case. The instances of the first type are grouped in §348 ff. They call for no comment, the following will serve as an example:

sundhanām lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ VS MS KS ŚB MŚ · *sundhanām lokah pitṛśadanah* TS ApŚ, 'let the worlds (or, world) where the fathers sit be purified'

For the second type see §§353 ff., the cases are somewhat less numerous, but still common enough, for example

āsīdantu (SV *āsīdatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB adds *varuno*) *aryamā* RV. SV VS TB

Followed by: *prātaryāvāno adhvaram*. The real subject in RV is the gods in general, *mitro aryamā* are merely examples, Sāyana, *yo mitro devo yaś cāryamā ye cānye prātaryāvānah devāḥ* etc. The plural is here the original form, and the alteration is a case of subtraction or division rather than addition or multiplication of the subject. Both SV. and TB were troubled by the seeming disagreement between verb and subject (two gods, plural verb), and each tried to better the construction, SV by making the verb singular, agreeing with the nearer subject, *mitro*, and TB by inserting *varuno* and thus providing three subjects instead of two for the plural verb, in defiance of the meter.

§297 Of great interest, tho of equally great rarity, are the cases (§358) in which a grammatically plural or dual subject (either a *plurale*

tantum, or more than one noun felt as constituting a single unit) is alternatively construed with a singular verb, because the subject is thought of collectively as a unit:

drupadād na muñcatām (TB °tu, so read with Poona ed.) AV. TB The subject is found in the preceding pāda, *bhūtam nā tasmād bharyam ca*, 'May what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a post'. It would be mechanical and false to explain the singular verb of TB as agreeing with the nearer subject *bharyam*, as under the type mentioned last. Rather, the two subjects are felt in TB as forming a single unitary concept.

§298 There remain, finally, a rather considerable number of shifts in either person or number, or both, which are due to real syntactic reconstructions of the passage involving change of subject. Either the mantra may be applied in a different connexion, with a different subject for the verb, or the context may remain the same, but owing to an internal reconstruction the subject may be different and may require a different person or number. The following examples may serve to illustrate these two types, as between second and third person, and between the various numbers, they are hardly capable of further subdivision, and will be found grouped in §§338-41, 361-71. Most of the variants between first and second person, and between first and third, naturally involve change of subject in so far as they include recognizable groupings, attention has already been called to them.

§299. First, cases in which the formula appears in different contexts. The first example is a pāda occurring in the RV. itself in no less than four different stanzas, three of which are repeated in other texts, in three of the four the verb is second person, the varying subject being directly addressed in each; while in the fourth the subject is referred to indirectly and the verb is therefore third person. The anomalous form (*bhūtu*) of this last version shows that it is a secondary adaptation of one of the others:

asmākam edhy avitā rathānām (AV *tanūnām*) RV. AV. SV. VS TS MS KS. *asmākam bodhy av° ra°* RV. *as° bodhy av° tanūnām* RV. MS TB TA Mahān. *as° bhūtu av° ta°* RV. AV. TA.; 'be thou (let him be) order of our chariots (our persons)'

Or, a case in which all three numbers, as well as second and third persons, appear, each form being appropriate to its special context:

sunoty ā ca dhātatah RV., 'he presses and adds water'; *sunūta ā ca dhātatah* RV., 'they two press and add water', *sunōta ca dhātatah* AV. 'press ye (plural) and add water'

§300 Secondly, cases in which the context is essentially the same, but an internal reconstruction furnishes the verb with a different subject, requiring different person or number or both

ahar no alyapīparat MahānU SMB, 'the day has brought us across':
ahar mātīyapīparah AV, 'thou (O sun) hast brought me across the day.'

prbāt somam mamadad (AŚ ŚŚ *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayah*) AV AŚ ŚŚ, 'let him drink the soma, let it exhilarate him at the sacrifice (or, the sacrifices exhilarated him)'

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ā prnethām (MS MŚ *prna*, LŚ *prnāthām*) TS. MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ 'O heaven and earth, be filled (gratified) with ghee', or, 'fill (O post) heaven and earth with ghee'

nṣkam va prath muñcata (°tām) AV. (both) 'Fasten ye on (another) like a necklace', or 'let him fasten on himself like a necklace.' Here, and not infrequently, a change of voice goes with the change of person and number; see §30 Somewhat similarly, but without a change of voice, the verb is used in a different meaning in the following:

indram samatsu bhūṣata SV · *indrah samatsu bhūṣatu* RV AV Preceded by. *ā no viśvāsu havyah* (SV. °yam). 'Let Indra associate himself with us (SV, praise ye Indra), (Indra) who is to be invoked (of us) in every conflict'

§301. After these preliminary remarks, we now proceed to list the variants concerning Person and Number As usual thruout this work, we have followed the lines of practical convenience in classifying them, without being too much bound by formal and external schemes Thus, in the case of the Person variants, we have found it practicable to divide them first into the four natural groups of those which show (1) all three persons, (2) first and second persons, (3) first and third, and (4) second and third Cross-references from one group to another will enable the reader to bring together such subdivisions of each group as belong together But as regards the Number variants, such a primary division has seemed to us inadvisable, and our first division has been psychological rather than formal We begin with variations between first and second persons singular and plural as referring to the priests and their associates Next come cases in which the same subject appears as singular, dual, or plural, with accompanying change in number of the verb, and, following this, those in which a more inclusive subject varies with a less inclusive one (§296). After this we place the very few variations in which a singular verb goes with a subject felt as collective, tho formally dual or plural, and next the cases of generalizing plural and singular. Then come the variations in number due to change of subject

within the same context, then those due to change of subject involved in a change of context, and finally a few cases which seem to involve errors and corruptions with which little or nothing can be done. Within each of these groups, however, we have separated the variants which occur into the natural formal subdivisions of singular and plural, dual and each of the other numbers, and variations of all three numbers. Occasionally, and in so far as it seems desirable, we have also recognized accompanying changes of person in our subdivisions.

A VARIANTS CONCERNING PERSON

1 Variants between all three Persons

§302. (a) Most of these are of the sort mentioned in §289 above. Namely, they concern cases in which a result is conceived as accomplished either by the priest or sacrificer (first person), or alternatively by some god, potency, agency, or implement, in which magic power resides or is figuratively spoken of as residing, and which is either addressed (in second person), or merely referred to (in third person). The considerable number of such variants, swelled by a still larger number in which only first and second persons appear (§304), or only first and third (§312), illustrates very interestingly this aspect of Vedic sacrificial psychology. Thus:

tveṣam vaco apāvadhāt (TS TB °dhām, MS °dhāh) VS TS MS KS
 ŚB TB Preceded in all by. *yā te agne 'yāśayā* ('yahśayā)
tanūr 'That form of thine, O Agni has driven away harsh
 words', or, ' (by it) I have driven away' or 'thou hast driven away'
 etc. Also: *ugram vaco* etc., see Conc.

Here the real agency is the same in either case, the practitioner operates thru an implement or a force which he controls, and it makes no difference whether the activity is attributed to the one or the other. Similarly

vācam paśūn mā nīr mārjīh MS MŚ *vācam prānam mā nīr mṛkṣam*
 TS *rūpād varnam mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ *rūpam varnam paśūnām mā*
nirmṛkṣam ApŚ. And other similar formulas in the same context
 [*tam mā hīranyavarcaśam* (RVKh *tena mām sūryaivacam*)] *larotu*
 (RVKh *akaram*) *pūruṣu priyam* (ApMB *pūruṣu priyam luru*)
 ApMB. HG RVKh '(O name,) make me here of golden luster,
 beloved among the Pūrus' or, 'let it (the name) make me' etc., or,
 'by it (the name) I have made myself sun-colored' etc.
evam garbham dadhām (ApMB °tu) *te* ŚB BrhU ŚG ApMB HG

and (in different but related context) *evam tam* (ApMB *tvam*) *garbham ādhehi* (ApMB *ādhatva*) RVKh ApMB MG., *evā dadhāmi te garbham* AV 'Thus I fix (let him fix) the germ for thee', or, 'fix thou this germ.' In the second version of ApMB, but only there, the woman is addressed 'Receive thou the germ' Note the middle voice, and see §30. In all the others the subject is either the practitioner (1st person) or some divine or magical potency (addressed in RVKh MG, referred to in 3d person in the first version of ApMB.)

mā devānām mīhuyā-karma (TS *mīhuyā kar*, MS *yūyupāma*, AŚ *momuhad*, AVPpp *yūyavad*, for *mī° kaṛma*) *bhāgam* (AVPpp. TS. MS AŚ *bhāgadheyam*) AV AVPpp TS MS TB. AŚ. So to be read, see Whitney on AV 4 39 9 'May we (he, mayst thou) not cheat the share of the gods' or the like TS *kur* is 2d person, with subject Agni who is addressed in the preceding pāda Agni is also the subject of the 3d person forms of AVPpp AŚ, which have 3d person references to him in the preceding pāda.

pari nah pāhi (also *pātu*, and *pari mā pāhi*) *viśvatah* AV (all) *pari tvā pāmi sarvatah* RVKh. 'Protect us (me, let him protect us, I protect thee) on all sides' In several different contexts

brahma tena punīhi nah (LŚ *mā*, KS VS *punātu mā*, MS. TB *punīmahe*) RV VS MS KS TB. LŚ *īdam brahma punīmahe* TB: 'The charm (O Agni, that is in thy light), by that purify us (me; may we be purified)' The first person is here due to shift to middle (passive) value, see §30. The subject of the 3d person in VS KS. can only be Agni, tho the vocative remains in these texts, VS comm *bhavān punātu* Cf §332

§303 (b) The rest are of different sorts, and can hardly be classified except as *vilāras* of one another adapted to different situations, the real, as well as the grammatical, subject is generally different, and to a large extent the formulas are used in different contexts At most two of the three persons may refer to the same subject, as in the 1st and 2d person forms of the following, where the same individual speaks in one form of the variant and is addressed in the other (cf §308)

śatam jīvantu (AV * *°tah*, TB * ApŚ * MG. *jīvema*, AV. * SMB PG * ApMB * HG. *ca jīva*, PG * *ca jīvāmi*) *śaradah purācāh* (*suvarcāh*) RV AV. VS ŚB. TB TA ApŚ SMB. PG. ApMB HG. MG. Somewhat complicated are the variations of this oft-repeated pāda, occurring in several texts more than once It occurs in three stanzas, at least, which may be considered quite distinct from one

another In one all texts read *jīvanu* and *purūcīh* except AV which has the correlative participle *jīvantah*. A second, reading *jīvema* and *purūcīh*, is found only in TB. ApŚ The remaining occurrences seem all to concern variant forms of what is essentially the same stanza, sometimes two forms of it occurring in juxtaposition in the same text (as in ApMB 2 2 7 and 8) It is used variously, at the marriage ceremony, at the *upanayana*, at the ceremony marking the close of studentship, and the verb is always 2d person (addressed to the bride or to the *brahmacārīn*) except in PG 2 6 20 and MG 1. 9 27, where it is put into the mouth of the *brahmacārīn*, see §308

utlame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ °*yadhvam*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ *nākasya pr̥sthe sam iṣā madema* AV Same context In all but AV the subject is *devāh* in the preceding (voc in MŚ, nom in TS TB ApŚ, see §329) In AV it is replaced by *devaīh*, the subject being 'we' 'let (the gods) revel (O gods, revel ye) here in the highest heaven', or 'may we revel together (with the gods) with food on the back of heaven'

viśvam āyur vy aśnavat RV TS MS TB Kauś *aśnavat* (AV °*vam*) AV. VS MS KS TB *aśnutah* RV *aśnutam* (AV * °*lām*) RV. AV. ApMB In several different contexts, which account fully for the variations of both person and number

suprajāh prajāyā bhūyāsam (ApMB * *bhūyās*) . VSK TS ApŚ HG ApMB . *suprajāh prajābhi(h) syām* (VS ŚB also *syāma*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ *supośah pośais suprajāh prajāyā syām* JB *supośah pośaih syāt* . MS KS TB MŚ In several different contexts

yad vo 'śuddhāh (VSK. °*ah*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK *jaghānataḥ*) *īdam vas tac chundhām* VS VSK ŚB . *yad aśuddhah parājaghāna tad va elena śundhantām* KS . *yad vo 'śuddha ālebhe tañ śundhadhvam* MS See §30

mitrasya mā cakṣuṣā sarvānī bhūtānī samīkṣantām, mitrasyāham cakṣuṣā . samīkṣe, mitrasya cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe VS (all, in same passage, the subject of *samīkṣāmahe* is reciprocal and includes *sarvānī bhūtānī*) *mitrasya vaś cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe*, and *samīkṣadhvam* MS (in same passage) And others, see Conc under *mitrasya vaś, mitrasya tvā*

tena tvāyūṣāyūṣmantām karomī TS PG ApMB *tasyāyam* (and, *teṣām ayaṁ*) *āyūṣāyūṣmān asiv asau* KS *tenāyūṣāyūṣmān edhī* MS

2. Variants between First and Second Person

§304. (a) We find under this head, first, a considerable group of the type described above in §§289, 302, in which the action or result is conceived as brought about sometimes by the priest or sacrificer (first person), sometimes by a divine or natural or supernatural agency or implement, which is addressed in the second person. Thus:

ṛtenāśya nīvartaye (MŚ °ya), *satyena parivartaye* (MŚ. °ya) TB ApŚ.

MŚ. 'By his divine order do I (thou, addressing the razor) return, by his truth do I (thou) move about' Spoken in the shaving ceremony, while wielding the razor

The potency address or referred to is not always clearly indicated; we have seen this illustrated in some of the similar variants of all three persons, and shall find the same in not a few of the following ones, as for instance in this

(pari) *mahe kṣatrāya* (also: *śrotrāya*) *dhattana* AV : (pari) *mahe rāṣṭrāya* (also *śrotrāya*) *dadhmaḥ* HG 'Wrap ye (we wrap) [him] unto great kingship' or the like In AV. apparently address to undefined gods

vi mīmṣva payasvatīm ghṛtācīm AV : *vi mīme tvā payasvatīm devānām* TB ApŚ 'Measure thou (Rohita seems to be address) the milk-rich, ghee-full (cow)', or 'I measure thee out, the milk-rich (cow) of the gods.'

payo divy antarikṣe payo dhāh (TS. *dhām*) VS TS. MS KS. 'Milk do thou place (sc for me, acc to VS. comm Agni is address) in the sky, in the air', or, 'may I place' etc

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (TS KS. TB. 'yāt) VS. TS KS ŚB. TB . 'yāsiṣam VS ŚB LŚ . *ava no devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi* MS. 'I have (thou—[O bath]—hast) removed by sacrifice the god-wrought sin by the gods' Similarly (but in different context): *ava devānām yaje heda agne* (KS *yaje hādyān*, MŚ. *yaje hedyān*) AV KS MŚ *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB ApŚ : *agne devānām ava heda yakṣva* (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ 'remove thou (I remove) by sacrifice the anger of the gods, O Agni', or the like.

vācam te mā hinsīṣam KS *vācam asya mā hinsīh* MS And so with *caṣṣuh*, *caritrān*, *śrotram*, and others At the slaughtering of an animal 'may I not harm thy voice etc', or 'harm not his voice etc', addressing the animal, or the instrument of slaughter.

garbhān (sc *prīnām*) Vait : *garbhān prīnān* ApŚ 'I gratify (, or, gratify thou—address to the spoon or the remnants eaten from it) the embryos'

ava bādhe pṛlanyatah (ApŚ °iā) MS ApŚ . *ava bādhasva pṛlanūyatah* PG

yāh paśūnām ṛṣabhe vācas tāh sūrye agre śukro agre tāh prahinomī (ApŚ. °imro) . MS ApŚ 'These I send forth', or 'these send thou forth' (addressed to the sun? see Caland on ApŚ. '0 12 4)

apāraram adrayajanam pṛthivyā devayajanā (ApŚ *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ *apāraram pṛthivyā devayajanād badhyāsam* VS ŚB 'Drive away (I would drive away) Araru' etc

śucim te (SV *ca*) *varnam adli goṣu dīdharam* (SV *dhāraya*) RV SV In SV. addressed to Soma, who is addressed in the preceding in RV. also

sarvam tam bhasmasā (TS ŚB *masmasā*) *Luru* VS TS ŚB . *sarvāns tām maṣmaṣā* (MS † *mṛṣmṛṣā*) *Luru* MS KS † TA *sarvān ni maṣmaṣū-laram* AV 'Every one I have smashed (smash thou)', or the like *manasaspata imam deva yajñam* (KS *devayajñam svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāh* VS KS ŚB . *manasaspata imam no divi deveṣu yajñam, svāhā divi svāhā pṛth vyām svāhāntarīṣe svāhā vāte dhūm svāhā* AV *manasaspata imam no deva deveṣu yajñam svāhā vāci svāhā vāte dhāh* TS. *manasaspate sudhātva imam yajñam divi deveṣu vāte dhāh svāhā* MS The AV version is harsher, the voc *manasaspate* requires a 2d person verb, which has to be supplied in AV

śtolāram id didhiṣya (SV. *dadhiṣe*) *radāvaso* RV SV. Similar to prec , here SV. has a lectio facilior.

With change of number as well as person·

ra tvā (KŚ *mā*) *muñcāmī* (RV.* *pra no muñcatam*) *varunasya pāśāt* RV (both) AV AŚ KŚ AG ApMB Dual addressed to Soma-Rudra *am* (TS KS add *vah*) *supṛitam subhṛtam akarma* (KS *abhārṣam*, VS °*am bibhṛta*) VS TS KS 'This (embryo) we (I) have made pleasant, well-maintained for you', or 'maintain ye' etc

nih kṛavyādām nudāmasī (MS. *nudasva*) AV MS *niṣ kṛavyādām sedha* VS TS KS ŚB TB. ApŚ In AV, 'we drive out the flesh-eating (fire)', in YV addressed to Agni Different contexts

bharatam uddharem anuṣiṇca (MŚ *uddharema vanusanti?* doubtful text) TB ApŚ MŚ Addressed to the cake (*purodāśa*) at the *darsapūrnamāsa* TB comm understands *uddhara im* (= *imam*), and Caland on ApŚ follows him, *bharatam* means the *yajamāna* according to comm, according to Caland possibly Agni Both variants are doubtful

layā mā samirjāmasī HG ApMB *layā mām indra sam sṛja* RVKh 'With it (*lakṣmī*) we unite me', or 'with it unite me, O Indra'

tābhīr ā vartayā punah TS. ApMB : *tābhya enā n vartaya* RV †: *tābhyaś tvā vartayāmasi* KS. 'By (from) them bring them (we bring thee) back'

§305. Sometimes the change between first and second person accompanies, and is conditioned by, a change between active and middle or passive voice, or between causative and primary verb-forms. These will be found easily from the lists recorded above in §§30, 83ff, 238f; it is hardly necessary to repeat them here, as examples we may quote *agne dakṣaś punīhi nah* (TB *mā*, MS. *punīmahe*) RV. MS TB 'O Agni, purify us (me; may be become pure) by thy power' *saṃjīvā* (AŚ * ApŚ °*vikā*) *nāma siha lā imam* (AŚ *imam amum*) *saṃjivayata* MS. AŚ ApŚ . *saṃjīvā siha saṃjivyāsam* AV 'Ye are enlivening (by name), do ye make this man live', or 'may I live'

§306. In some other cases we find essentially the same psychology, but with a slightly different turn in formal expression; as when a phrase of MS,

bhūyāṃso bhūyāsta ye no bhūyaso 'kartā, 'be ye more, who have made us more',

is (as it were) glossed by the variant of Kauś,

bhūyāṃso bhūyāśma ye ca no bhūyasaś kūrṣta, 'may we be more, and likewise ye who have made us more' (Also the same texts with *an-nāda bhūyāsta* etc.)

The real point is, 'may we be more!' in both cases alike; but this is definitely stated in only one form of the variant, while in the other (MS) the desired result is nominally wished upon the agency used. Cf. with 1st and 3d persons, §313 below. Similarly in the next subject and indirect object exchange places, without real difference of meaning. *trīny āyūṅṣi te 'karam* (JUB °*ṣi me 'kṛnoh*) AV. JUB. Addressed to an

amulet 'Three lives have I made for thee', or ' . hast thou made for me', the last is, of course, the real intention even in AV *āditya nāvam ārukṣaś* (SMB *āroḥṣam*) AV SMB . *imām su nāvam āruham* TS KS ApŚ *sūrya nāvam ārukṣaś* AV . *sunāvam āruheyam* VS 'O Sun, I have mounted (may I mount, mount thou) fairly upon a ship', or the like

The isolated AV reading (even Ppp has 1st person forms both times) is curious, and can hardly mean anything fundamentally different from the others, it is explained by the other variants in this section. The comm on AV. optionally allows the 2d person to be interpreted as 1st person (!)

sannān māvagām (ApŚ °*gāta*) MS ApŚ MŚ 'May I not go (go ye not) to those that are sunk.' Addressed to the sacrificial posts.

sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ MŚ
'I have mounted (mount thou) the eye of the sun.'

payasvān ('vān) *agna āgamam* (RV. *āgahi*) RV. AV VS. TS MS KS.
JB. ŚB. TB LŚ. ApMB. 'With milk, O Agni, I have come (come
thou).' The context is the same, and the 'milk' is in either case
for the benefit of the speaker

deva traṣṭar vasu rama (TS. *ranva*, KS. *rana*, MS *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB.

srargān (AŚ corruptly *svargān*, Vait. *srargam*) *arvanto jayata* (Vait
jayema; AŚ. *jayatah* [!]) SV AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait 'Conquer ye, swift
(steeds, *vājino*, *pāda* a) heaven!' or 'may we swiftly conquer heaven'
Vait. is obviously secondary but probably gives the real sense of
the other, original reading. On AŚ. see §250. In AŚ follows an
alternative form of the *pāda*, *srargān arvato jayati*, which the comm.
says is designed to indicate that either *arvanto* or *arvato* may be read;
he does not notice the difference in the last word. In fact, *jayati*
and (dual) *jayatah* are equally unconstruable.

§307. (b) We come next to a quite different group of first and second
person variants, namely those in which both forms alike refer really to
the same individuals, viz. the priests or their associates, including the
yajamāna with whom they frequently and naturally identify themselves
in speech. See §290 above. As is well known, the ritualists may say
either 'we' or 'you', about equally well, in speaking of themselves and
their fellows. Singular forms, especially of the first person, are also
not rare, cf. below, §§344ff, 347, for variants between first singular and
plural, and second singular and plural, in this sense. In this place we
list such of these variants as concern either person alone, or both person
and number, beginning with those between first and second person
plural.

mitrāya (TS. KS * TB ApŚ. *satyāya*) *havyam ghṛtavaj juhota* (TS KS
°*vad vdhema*) RV TS KS. TB ApŚ. MŚ N. See §290. The
next is really a mere *vikāra* of this

tasmā u havyom ghṛtavad vdhema (ŚŚ ŚG. °*vaj juhota*) TS. ŚŚ ŚG
ApMB. *dhātā id dhavyam ghṛtavaj juhota* AŚ. *Dhātā* is meant
by *tasmai*

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV.
KS ApŚ. *athā syāta surabhayo grheṣu* MS. 'Then may we be
(be ye) fragrant in the house' AV has different context from the
others

atra (ŚB. *atrā*) *jahāmo* 'śivā ye asan' VS. ŚB. *atrā jahāma* (AV *jahāta*) *ye*

asānn aśevāh (AV. *aśvāh*, and *asan durevāh*) RV. AV. (bis) TA 'Here (may) we quit (quit ye) those that may be unpropitious' *mṛtyoh padam* (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto yad anta* (TA. *ama*; AV. *yopayanta eta*, MG. *lopayante yad eta*) RV. AV. TA. MG (Read probably *eta* in MG)

yathā me bhūrayo 'sata AV. *yathāsāma jīvaloke bhūrayah* TA. The AV. form is very doubtful, mss. *'satah*, both edd. *'sata*; comm. also *'sata*, glossing *syāta*, as if the form were *asatha*, 2d plural subj *pāpmānam te 'pahanmah* KŚ. *pāpmānam me hata* (Kauś. *'pa jah*) MG. Kauś

anadvāham anv ārabhāmahe VS. VSK. TA. *anadvāham plavam anv ārabhadhvam* AV MG In different contexts *īṣam madantah pari gām nayadhvam* (AV *nayāmah*) RV AV MG

First and second person singular.

hṛdā matim janaye (VS KS TB. °*ya*) *cārum agnaye* RV. VS MS KS. TB ApŚ. 'I produce (produce thou) with the heart a lovely hymn to Agni'

tena te vapāmy āyuse MG.. *tenāsyāyuse vapa* ApMB. See §124. The first form is addressed to the boy who is shaved, the second to the officiating priest who shaves This might be classed with the following subdivision

sakhyāt te mā yoṣam TB ApŚ. ApMB HG.: *sakhyam te mā yoṣāh* SMB See §168 A reciprocal relation is here expressed in both cases 'may I not be separated from thy friendship', or 'do not withhold thy friendship (from me)'

indro vde tam u stuṣe (Mahānāmnyah *stuh*) AA. Mahānāmnyah See §165 To be classed here if *stuṣe* is first person, as Keith takes it With change of number

tasmā indrāya sulam ā juhota (TB ApŚ *juhoma*) VS VSK MS KS. ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. Followed by.

tasmai sūryāya sulam ā juhota (ApŚ *juhoma*) MS KS ApŚ. MŚ. *viśvān devāns tarpayata* (BDh *tarpayāmi*) TB BDh.

Somewhat similar is the following variant between first dual and second singular

sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (ApMB corruptly, °*padā babhūva*, cf Winternitz, p xvi f) ApMB HG *sakhā saptapadāi* (ApMB °*dā*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś ApMB SMB The first is spoken by the bridegroom, referring to himself and the bride, the second is addressed to the bride alone. See §367

§308 (c) We come next to a group in which the same person is the

subject of both 1st and 2d personal forms, but in one he is represented as speaking, while in the other he is spoken to. We have met this type already, §303, and a similar interchange is found between 1st and 3 persons, below, §316f. Thus.

parīdam vāṇy aṇnam (PG. °*dam vāṇnam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *aṇnam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG. PG HG ApMB 'I put (put thou) on this skin with vigor' or the like. In HG spoken by the *guru* to his pupil, in the others, by the pupil himself.

prānasya brahmacārya asī (ApMB *asmi*, HG *abhūr asau*) AG HG ApMB MG Exactly like preceding, here spoken by the pupil only in ApMB.

marutām (MS *sapatnahā ma°*) *prasave jeṣam* (MS *jaya*) TS MS TB ApŚ 'On the impulse of the Maruts may I conquer (conquer thou)' The subject is the king at the *rājasūya*, who speaks in TS etc., while in MS he is spoken to. In a way this might be classed with the preceding group, the king being the *yajamāna*, of the variant *tena te vapāmy āyuse, tenāsyāyuse vapa*, quoted above, which may be said equally to belong here. Other forms, see §§158, 370.

syonām āsadam suśadām āsadam LŚ. *syonām āsīda suśadām āsīda* VS TS. MS. KS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'I have sat (sat thou) on (a throne that is) fair, (that is) a pleasant seat' Apparently addressed to, or spoken by, the king at the *rājasūya*.

śalam jīvāmi (MG. *jivema*, AV ApMB HG *ca jīva*) *śaradah purūcāh* AV. ApMB PG HG MG (and others similar, see §303), followed directly in PG MG and once in AV by the following, which occurs in a similar context in the others also.

rāyaś ca poṣam upasamvyayasva AV HG ApMB *rayim ca putrān anusamvyayasva* PG. *rāyas poṣam abhi samvyayisye* PG MG In the PG MG form of these two *pādas*, the graduate brahman-pupil speaks in person; in the others he is addressed.

samitam samkalpethām VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG. *sam ayāva sam kalpāvahat* ApMB Here a formula belonging originally to the *śrauta* sphere (addressed to two fires, cf. Keith on TS 4.2.5.1) is secondarily applied in two *gṛhya* texts, MG and ApMB. In the former it is addressed without change to the bride and groom by the officiating priest in the marriage rite, while in ApMB it is spoken by the bridegroom, of himself and the bride.

samnahye (KS °*hya*) *sukṛtāya kam* TS KS TB ApŚ MŚ. ApMB : *samnahyasvāmṛtāya kam* AV The bride (AV ApMB) or the sacrificer's wife (the others) speaks or is addressed 'I gird myself (gird thyself) unto goodness (immortality)' On KS, see §30.

§309 (d) Of the few remaining first and second person variants little need be said. For the most part they are simply cases in which a phrase is adapted to a wholly new context, and provided therefore with a wholly different subject. In the first pair of variants we have in one form a deliberate *vikāra* of the other, in adjoining passages:

atī dhanveva tān ihi RV AV. SV. VS.: *dadhanveva tā ihi*, followed by *nūdhanveva tān imi* TA 1 12 2d (both). And in the same stanza.

yāhi (TA also *yāmi*) *mayūraromabhūh* RV. AV SV VS TA. The second version (in 1st person) of TA is deliberately modelled on the first (in 2d person). Note the anomalous form *imi*, for *emi* (which the meter forbids), under the influence of *ihi*.

No less surely, in the following variant, is the MS. form secondarily adapted from the original (as in RV.) to fit its wholly new context, while TA., altho it has the same new context as MS, retains or restores the original form of the verb as in the different context of RV :

atārīṣma (MS. °*ṣta*) *tamasas pāram asya* RV MS KS TA. ApŚ. In MS TA the preceding pāda is: *vimucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA °*nyā*) *devayānāh*: 'be released, O cattle, going to the gods, ye (TA we, under the influence of the original form) have crossed to the farther shore of this darkness'. In RV. KS the context is wholly different.

§310 In the next we are reminded of the cases listed in the preceding subdivision, but here the subject is changed, the context being a different one, a god speaks of himself in one variant, while two gods are addressed in the other. See on this point Bloomfield's important observation, *RVRep* 384. 'We may perhaps accept it as a general principle, that in hymns in which a god speaks for himself, repeated pādas, which are otherwise attributed by the poets to a god in the 2d or 3d person, are secondary and epigonal'. If this is so, the 1st person form in the following would be secondary.

yat sunvate yajamānāya śikṣathah (śikṣam) RV (both)

§311 Of the rest it is unnecessary to speak in detail, they contain changes of person to suit very miscellaneous contexts.

vajro 'sī (MŚ *hāsmi*) *sapatnahā* Kauś MŚ

sūryasyāvṛtam anvāvarite (SMB GG *anvāvaritasvāsau*) AV. VS KS ŚB SMB GG

indrasya sakhyam amṛtatvam āśyām (RV. *ānaśa*) RV TB ApŚ. 2d pl perf in RV

sajātānām madhyamasthā edhi (AV. *madhyameṣṭhāh*; MS KS °*meṣṭhe-yāya*) AV. VS TS MS. KS *saj*° *madhyameṣṭhā yathāsāni* AV.

3 Variants between First and Third Person

§312 (a) Here again we find a considerable number of cases in which the statement of something effected by the speaker (expressed in 1st person) varies with a statement of the same thing as effected by the potency on which he relies, which in this case is expressed in the third person, the potency being not addressed directly; cf. above, §§289, 302, 304.

udgrābhenod agrabhāt (MS *ajgrabhat*; KS *aṅgrabham*, and *aṅgrābham*) VS TS MS KS. ŚB. 'With elevation he (Indra) has elevated me', or 'I have elevated myself' The context is the same, and Indra's instrumentality is implied also in KS

tāh sam tanomī (TS. MS. ApŚ *dadhāmī*, KS *dadhātu*) *hamṣā* (MS. *manasā*) *ghṛtena* TS MS KS AŚ. KŚ ApŚ 'These (offerings) I unite (let him, in KS. Viśvakarman, unite) with oblation, with ghee' The passages are similar, tho not exactly identical, and 1st or 3d would go well enough in all.

tau yuñjīta (AV. *yokṣye*) *prathamau yoga āgate* AV SV. 'Them (Indra's arms) let him (I shall) yoke first' etc

preto muñcāmī (AG ŚG SMB MG *muñcātu*, PG. *muñcanī*, ApMB *muñcātī*) *nāmutah* (ŚG MG. SMB † *māmutah*, PG *mā pateh*) RV AV. AG ŚG SMB. PG. ApMB MG Two different contexts one in RV. AV. ApMB, followed by

subaddhām amulas karam (ApMB. *karat*) RV AV. ApMB 'I release (he, i.e. some god, shall release) her (the bride) from here, not from there, I have (he has) made her well-fastened there' In the other (GS) texts, the subject of the verb is Aryaman or Pūṣan, previously mentioned, so, perhaps, ApMB is to be interpreted A related but still different formula, *ito mukṣīya māmūtah* (ApŚ *mā pateh*) VS ŚB ApŚ, is spoken (in a different context) by the bride herself, hence medio-passive, see §30.

idam asmākam bhūje bhogāya bhūyāt (MŚ *bhūyāsam*) KS ApŚ MŚ 'May this be (may I be here) for enjoyment and feasting unto us' MŚ doubtless secondary.

abhi tvā varcasāsīcam (AV. °sīñcan, read °sīcan, see Whitney on 4.8.6) AV KS TB Followed in AV by *āpo divyāh payasvatīh*, in KS. TB. by *divyena* (KS *yaṅñena*) *payasā saha*, Ppp agrees with TB The preceding stanza ends in all *abhiṣīñcāmī varcasā*, perhaps KS. TB. have altered the original under the influence of this, but the Ppp version makes it doubtful whether the AVŚ can contain the original form of the pāda 'I have (the waters have) poured out

nir mā muñcāmi śapathāt LŚ ApŚ . *muñcantu mā śapathyāt* RV. AV. VS 'Let (the herbs) free me from the (effect) of the curse': 'I free myself from the curse.'

mama vrate te hṛdayam (AG ŚG *vrate hṛdayam le*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG. *dadhātu*) AG ŚG. SMB PG MG 'In my power I set (let him, sc some god, set) thy heart' See Conc for other, vaguer, parallels
annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat Kauś *annādam annādāyādadhe* (KS *annādāyān apatyāyādadhe*) TS KS . *annādam agnim annapatyāyādadhe* MS . *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ . *agnim annādam annādāyādadhe* VS The subject in Kauś is apparently Aditi, who is addressed in the others also, they all have 1st person verbs, of which the priestly speaker is of course the subject.

pāvamānasya tvā stomena vīryenot sṛje MS *pāvamānena tvā stomena vīryena devas tvā savitot sṛjatu* (KS *vīryenoddharāmy asau*) TS.

KS

bṛhatā tvā rathamārena vīryenod dhare (KS *vīryenotsṛjāmy asau*) MS

KS *bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena savitot sṛjatu* . TS

praṇām asya iśvadaśtīm kṛnotu (and, *kṛnomi*) SMB (both). Subject of *kṛnotu* is Agni

sa pūrvyo nūtanam āvūśat (SV *āyūṣam*) AV SV. Subject of the 3d person is the sun, Conc suggests that SV should read *āyūṣat*, and this would certainly be simpler

sam ākūṭīr namāmasi (MS *anansata*) RVKh AV MS

garbham sravantam agadam akah (AŚ *akarma*) TB. ApŚ AŚ . *ukhām* (ApŚ *garbham*) *sravantam agadām akarma* (KS *aganma*) KŚ MŚ ApŚ Followed in next pāda by a series of names of gods, in most texts in the nominative (e g *agnir hotā prthivy antarikṣam* AŚ. ApŚ *, *agnir indras tvaṣṭā bṛhaspatiḥ* TB ApŚ *) *akah* is 3d sing, the subject being the following *agnir* (not all the following nouns collectively, as TB comm says). The reading with *akarma* may be rendered. 'We have made whole the shipping embryo (fire-pot, or, her that drops the embryo),—(and also) Agni, Indra, etc (have made it, or her, whole)' Caland on ApŚ 9 18 12 assumes, apparently, that *akarma* corruptly represents a 3d person, but this is neither necessary nor likely

rūpād varnam (ApŚ *rūpam varnam paśūnām*) *mā nirmṛkṣat* (ApŚ **kṣam*), [see §302,] followed by

vāṇi tvā sapatnasāham sam mārṣti (ApŚ *mārjmi*) ApŚ MŚ. After these two formulas comes the command *iti sammārṣti*, in MŚ 1.2 5 7, see Knauer's note Knauer speaks of 'stellvertretende Spruchrecita-

tion', that is, he supposes that the formulas are recited by another priest than the one who does the cleansing. The simple command *it̥ sammārṣti* seems to make this improbable, and we prefer to think that it is spoken by the same priest, but that, as in so many other similar formulas, he attributes the effect to the instrument of cleansing, instead of to himself. 'It shall not wipe off' etc. So in the following, where MŚ (altho its mss vary, and in one case they read 1st person) seems to have regularly had a 3d person (or at least so Knauer thinks):

agne vājajād sam mārjmi VS ŚB TB ApŚ Vait. *āgim lwagne sammārṣti* MŚ (two formulas, see Conc) In one case all MŚ mss agree on **mārṣti*

§313 As in the case of 1st and 2d persons (§306), this group is swelled by some cases in which the activity or result is, in one variant, nominally attributed to the instrumental potency rather than the speaker so *'mṛtatvam aśīya* (VSK. *aśyāt*) VS. VSK. MS ŚB. ŚŚ 'May I (he) attain immortality.' The subject in VSK. is apparently understood as Varuna.

upānśunā sam amṛtatvam ānaṭ (ApMB *aśyām*) RV VS MS. KS TA AŚ. ApMB MahānU. 'Thru soma it gained (may I gain) immortality' The original subject is *ūrmir madhumān*, the ApMB has a facile and slipshod alteration

pañca (AV. *trīni*) *padāni rūpo* (AV. *rūpo*) *anv aroham* (AV. **hat*), *catuṣ-padīm anv emi* (AV. *aitad*) *vratena; akṣareṇa prati mima elām* (AV *mimite arkam*), *ṛtasya nābhāv adhi* (AV *abhi*) *sam punāmi* (AV **ti*) RV. AV. An obscure verse in an obscure hymn, used in RV in the *haviṛdhāna*, in AV in the funeral rites, see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, ad 10 13. 3 In RV. the subject is probably the *holar* (Oldenberg), at any rate the same as in the first-person verbs of the preceding verse, in AV it is probably Yama as in the following verse. *gāyatrena chandasā prthivīm anu vi krame* TS *prthivyām* (KS **vīm*) *viṣṇur* (MS *viṣṇuh* *prthivyām*) *vyakṛanta gāyatrena chandasā* VS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ. And the same with *traṣṭubhena antarikṣam* etc, and *jāgalena divam* etc

Here would belong the following, if the TA version were to be accepted as a 1st person form:

pra tad uced amṛtasya (VS *amṛtam-nu*, TA MahānU *voce amṛtam nu*) *indrān* AV. VS TA MahānU In AV 'may he (Gandharva), knowing of the immortal, proclaim' On *voce* see §174 It seems that only a 3d person form can be intended here, so the TA comm., *proiāca*, evidently thinking of *ūce*, 3d sing perfect middle

§314 (b) We referred above (§291) to the fact that third personal forms, either plural or (less often) singular, are frequently used in a generalizing sense, equivalent to French *on*, German *man*; and to the further fact that first person plurals sometimes vary with them in this same sense (and even, once, a first person singular).— In the first cases about to be presented both 1st and 3d persons seem to be generalizing or indefinite:

[*yathā kalām yathā śapham*] *yatha ṛnam samnayāmasi* (AV. *yatharnam samnayanti*), [*evā duṣvapnyam sarvaṃ āptye*] (AV. *apriye*, or *duṣale*) *samnayāmasi* RV. AV (bis) See §291.

[*yat kim cedam varuna dāvye jane*] *abhidroham manuṣyās carāmasi* (AV. *caranti*) RV. AV TS MS. KS 'Whatever here, O Varuna, men (we humans) practise that is hostile to the god-folk.' AV. is less appropriate metrically.

yām (PG. *yā*, KS MG *ye*) *tvā* (PG *tām*) *rātry* (PG MG *rātrīm*) *upāsate* (AV. PG *upāsmahe*, SMB. *rātri yajāmahe*) AV. TS. KS SMB PG. MG. Preceded by *samvatsarasya pratimām* (PG *°mā*) 'Thee whom, O night, we (they, both indefinite) revere as the image of the year', or the like.

Perhaps here belongs the following:

pra tve havīṃsi juhure (KS *juhumas*) *samaddhe* (MS. *tve samaddhe juhure havīṃsi*) RV. VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The form *juhure* (see §77) may be taken as middle with indefinite subject, 'they offer oblations in thee when kindled' (so Keith on TS.), or as passive with *havīṃsi* as subject, 'oblations are offered', much less likely as a 1st sing. with Ludwig. The KS reading, 'we offer oblations', favors the first interpretation.

And, once at least, even singular forms are used in the same way: *tam tvā bhaga sarva vj jōhavīm* (RV. VS *°h*) RV. AV. VS TB. ApMB. See §291.

§315 The rest are generalizing only in the 3d person form, while the 1st person (always singular) is perfectly definite. In the first couple of variants the indefinite 3d person is singular, in all the rest plural. *tān ādityān anu madā* (MS. *madāt*) *svastaye* RV. MS. If *madā* is 1st singular subjunctive: 'I will (one shall) revel (? revel thou) to the Ādityas unto welfare.' But MS. p.p. reads *mada* (2d sing. impv.), 'revel thou', which would make this variant belong in §307, or §261, according as RV. *madā* be taken as 1st or 2d person.

[*yadī jāgrad yadī svapann*] *ena enasyo 'karam*, [*bhūlam mā tasmād bhavyam ca drupadād vā muñcatām*] AV.. [*yadī dvā yadī naklam*] *ena enasyo*

- '*karat*, [bhūtam .muñcatu] (so read with Poona ed) TB 'If waking or sleeping I, sinful, have committed sin (if by night or day a sinful person has committed sin), may what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a log.' TB. comm *ḥṛtavān asmi* for *akarāt*! Note also *mā* in TB., there is no doubt that TB. like AV really means to refer to the speaker's own sin. But by a touch of sly squeamishness the TB dodges the incriminating first-personal verb, and speaks of himself as if he didn't know who was meant, 'some one or other'!
- yat tvā* (KS *te*) *kruddhah parovapa* (KS. ms. °vāpa, 3d person, which may be kept!, AV. *kruddhāh pracakruh*) AV. TS. MS. KS ApŚ MŚ 'If I, angry (if an angry man, or angry men) have thrown thee out' *na vi jānāmi* (AB. *jānanti*) *yatarat* (AV °rā) *parastāt* AV. AB. JB 'I (they = people in general) do not know which is superior' (In AV. different context from the others)
- apām rasam udayansam* (TA °san) KS TA Comm. on TA *sarve lohā udgatāh*.
- prākto apācīm anayam tad enām* AV : *prācīm avācīm ava yann arṣṭiya* TA The 3d plural of TA can only be indefinite; comm *vayam avaimo jānīmah!*
- vacānsy āsā* (SV. *asmai*) *śhāvīrāya takṣam* (SV. *takṣuh*) RV. SV. 'I (they) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face (or, for this mighty one).'
- atrā te rūpam uttamam apaśyam* (VSK °yan) RV VS VSK TS KSA. 'Here I (they = people) have beheld thy highest form' To the sacrificial horse in YV. In the stanza before this
- śiro apaśyam* (VSK °yan) *paṭhībhiḥ sugebhiḥ*, same texts—But the VSK. reading is suspicious here, since if Weber's ed. can be trusted, it reads 1st person *ajānām* like all the others in the first pāda of the same stanza. Furthermore Weber records no variant for VSK. on *apaśyam* in the preceding, precisely similar stanza (*atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam*).
- yam tvā somenātīrṣāma* (TS. °pam; MŚ °pan) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ. And, in same stanza:
- yam tvā somenāmīmadam* (MŚ. °dan) TS MŚ
- ghṛtam mimikṣe* (TA. °kṣire) *ghṛtam asya yonih* RV. VS TA. MahānU. *sam u vām* (vo) *yajñam mahayam* (°yan) *namobhiḥ* RV. (both) Grassmann, 'man schmücket' for *mahayan*
- apo devīr* (VS. ŚB *devā*) *madhumatīr agrbhñām* (TS. ApŚ. *agrñan*, VS. ŚB. *agrñnan*) VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ 'I (they) have taken

the sweet divine waters', the subject is indefinite in TS. ApŚ., in VS. ŚB it is made definite, 'the gods have taken the sweet waters' *indrasya tvā jathare sādāyāmī* (AŚ. *dadhāmi*) VSK. KB GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ ApŚ. Kauś: *brahmana indrasya tvā* (Conc. omits *tvā*) *jathare dadhuḥ* MŚ As one eats (*prāśnāti*), he says: 'I place (they, indef., have placed) thee in the belly of (Brahman, of) Indra.' The parallel formulas are all 1st singular even in MŚ, and this is certainly an easier reading; one wonders how the 3d plural indefinite crept in to MŚ

ratham na dhīraḥ svapā atakṣam (RV * *atakṣiṣuh*) RV (both) TB. The 3d plural is of substantially the same character as the preceding, even tho a subject (*āyavaḥ*) is here expressed in the preceding pāda. The first person has priority, see *RVRep* 133f.

§316 (c) In a number of cases first and third person forms are used referring, in one way or another, to the same individual as subject. Some of these remind us of the subdivision (b) under First and Second Person variants (§307), in that the subject is both times an associate in the ritual performance, a priest or the *yajamāna*, who either speaks or is indirectly referred to, as

snuṣā sapatnā (TB comm. and Poona ed. text, °*nāḥ*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ 'ham *asmi*) TB. AŚ See §116 The subject is the *yajamāna* both times.

sarve vrāṭa varunasyābhūvan (MS. °*bhūma*) TS. MS. KS. TB. Spoken by the *yajamāna* at the *rājasūya* 'They (we) all have become the hosts of Varuna' In either case the associates of the *yajamāna* are meant

havante vājasālaye RV · *huvema vā*° RV. SV. MS KS : *huveya vā*° RV. AV. The contexts are different (see *RVRep* 255f), but the variant may properly be classified here, since in the 3d person form the subject, *janāsah* or *kanvāḥ*, is really identical with the speaker and his associates.

§317. Again, there are cases reminding us of subdivision (c) under First and Second Persons (§308), in that the change is conditioned by the fact that the same person speaks himself in one variant, while in the other he is spoken of:

anuvatsarīyodvatsarīye svastim āśāse MŚ. (spoken by the *yajamāna*). *anuvatsarīnām svastim āśāste* TB. ApŚ (said of the *yajamāna* by the *hotar*) The same with *parvatsarīnām* etc., *samvatsarīnām* etc

§318 As will be seen from this illustration the dividing line between these different types is not clear. The majority of the variants in this

subdivision are perhaps best described by saying that in one form a statement is couched in more or less general terms, the subject being not clearly identified with the speaker, while in the other (with first person) this identification is definitely made. In a way, therefore, these cases resemble those listed under the preceding sub-section, §315. The difference, which is not by any means sharp or clear, is that in the cases listed here the subject of the third person form is not so indefinite as in those mentioned above, it could not be rendered by German *man* or French *on*, since in fact a subject is expressed, or at least very clearly understood. But this subject is clearly identified with the speaker only in the first-person form of the variant. Thus:

sinanti pākam ahi (ŚŚ † *adhi*) *dhira eti* (ŚŚ *emi*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚŚ ; followed in the first two by:

riasya panthām anv emi (ApŚ *eti*) *hotā AŚ* ApŚ. 'They (fettlers) bind the sumple, the wise passes over them (I, being wise, pass etc.), along the path of holy order goes (I go as) the *hotar*.' Spoken by the *hotar*

āchellā te (vo) mā riṣam (KS *riṣat*, MS. *mārṣam*) TS MS. KS TB ApŚ MŚ 'Let (me) your cutter not suffer harm.' Even in the 3d person form the subject is really identical with the speaker

yad devayantam avatahak śacibhih, pari ghransam omanā vām (TB. *parighransa vām manā vām*) *vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV MS. TB. N 'When you (Aśvins) aid the pious man mightily, then he (I) shall go to refreshment, passing over heat by your aid', or the like. TB is badly corrupted, and the comm.'s explanations are mostly worthless, but his *gachatu* for *gām* is at least interesting, and not far wrong. The speaker identifies himself with the 'pious man'; as to *gām* TB., while undoubtedly secondary, need not be considered corrupt.

yam sarve 'nujīvāma TS. *yam bahavo 'nujīvān* MS.: *yam bahava upajīvanā* AŚ 'On whom many (we all) may depend'

tiro (RV VS ŚB AG. *antar*) *mṛtyum dadhatām* (TA ApŚ * *dadhmahe*) *parvatena* RV AV. VS ŚB. TA. ApŚ (bis) AG ApMB 'Let them block (hide, or remove, or, 'we hide') death by a mountain' After the funeral, the living are separated from the dead by a barrier, the subject of *dadhatām* is 'the living'.

§319 If the first-person form is textually sound, the following belongs here, the verb occurs in a relative clause, in one form of which the subject is identified with the speaker, and the verb put in the first person, presumably even the other form really refers to the speaker or his associates:

mā yah somam imam pibāt (KŚ. *pibā*; KS. *somam pibād imam*) KS. TB. KŚ ApŚ. See §331.

§320 Once a speaker is represented as quoting some one else's words about himself, in the included quotation the subject of the verb, referring to the speaker of the main clause, should logically be third person, but in just half the texts it is made first person, by a natural laxity:

abhy aśthām (MS. MŚ *asthām*, TS. KS ApŚ. *asthād*) *viśvāḥ pṛtanā arātīḥ* AV TS MS KS MŚ ApŚ 'I have (he has, referring to the speaker) conquered all battles and hostilities' [thus spake Agni, etc., sc of me]

§321 In a way the converse of this is found in the next variant, in which in one out of three texts the speaker is made to refer to himself in the third person, because the poet thinks of him in the third person:

upamañkṣyati syā (ŚŚ. *upamañkṣye 'ham*; AB *namañkṣye 'ham*) *sahlasya madhye* AB. ŚB. ŚŚ 'I shall (she, the earth, will) plunge into the middle of the ocean.' The earth is the speaker.

§322 In a still more strange passage both forms refer to the same subject, so far as we can see, which ought to be first person, no justification for the third person is apparent:

prajāpateḥ prajā abhūma (KS *abhūvan*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB TB.

Preceded or followed in all by. *sva devā* (TS. TB. *devān*) *aganma* (MS. *agāma*), and, *amṛtā abhūma* 'We have gone to heaven as gods (or, to the gods), we (KS. they) have become creatures of Prajāpati, we have become immortal' In KS, as in most texts, this is the order, with first-person expressions flanking the variant formula on either side Unless 'the gods' is felt as the subject in KS, which seems unlikely, we cannot explain the 3d person.

§323. (d) The remaining cases concern miscellaneous changes of subject, either in the same context (in about half the cases, those which are listed first), or conditioned by a change of context, a few definite *ūhas* or *vikāras* are included towards the end; and the section concludes with a few corruptions or errors First, change of subject in what remains essentially the same context.

viśvāvasuṁ namasā gīrbhūr īde (ApMB. *itte*) RV. ApMB 'I worship (she, the bride, worships) Viśvāvasu with homage and songs' The gandharva Viśvāvasu is banished from the bride. All mss. of ApMB agree, see Winternitz, Introduction, p. xix.

dirghāyutvāya jaradastir asmi (MG. *astu*) PG. MG. In MG. *jaradastir* is understood as a *tatpuruṣa*, while in PG. it is a *bahuvrīhi*; both mean the same thing 'I am one that attains old age unto long life,' or, 'let there be (for me) attainment of old age' etc.

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah*, MS. *bhūyāśma te*) *sumatau viśvavedāh* (MS.†
°dah, so text intends with its reading °dā, followed by initial vowel)
TS MS KS. PG 'Viśvavedas is in good-will towards me (us)',
or, 'may we be in thy good-will, O Viśvavedas'

nahī te nāma jagrāha AV.: *nahy-asyā* (ApMB *asyai*) *nāma gr̥bhñām*
RV. ApMB. See Whitney on AV 3 18 3

vandadvārā vandamānā vvaṣtu SV. *vande dārum* (read *vandārur*, or
vandār-vā?) *vandamāno vvakmī* RV See Bloomfield, *Johns Hop-*
kins Circulars, 1906, p 1062, Ludwig, 4 367; Oldenberg, *RVNoten*,
on 7 6 1.

apah prerayam (SV. *prarayāt*, TB *prarayan*) *sagarasya budhnāt* RV.
SV TB Preceded in all by. *indrāya giro anīśilasargāh* Only
the RV. version is really sensible; the others are careless distortions.
Benfey is forced to take the preceding pāda as a separate sentence,
making Indra the subject of *prarayāt* TB comm gives *giro*
as the subject and *apah* as the object of *prarayan*. Cf. §138

yad ahnāt (and, *rātryāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA. (followed by: *tad ahnāt*,
or *rātryāt*, *pratimucyate*) *yad ahnā* (and, *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam*
TA. MahānU. The form *kurute* is evidently felt as passive:
'What sin is done (I have done) by day', etc.

o cū sakhāyam sakhyā vavṛtyām RV. AV (Yamī speaks to Yama). &
tvā sakhāyah sakhyā vavṛtyuh SV (unintelligent revamping of the
same pāda, Benfey, 'dich möchten Freunde zu Freundschaft
gewinnen')

havyā te svadantām (MS *svadan*, and once *svadam*, KS. *asvadan*) VS. TS.
MS SB 'Let thy oblations taste sweet' or the like If *svadam*
is right, it must be transitive, 'I have enjoyed thy oblations' But
probably *svadan* should be read

§324 In some of the above it will be noticed that number as well as
person varies in one form of the variant Likewise the now following
list of variants, in which change of subject is conditioned by a change
of context, contains cases with change of both person and number
[*apa dveṣo apa hvaro*] 'nyavratasya (TA *anyad vratasya*) *saścima* (RV
saścure, TA *saścimah*, but read °ma with Poona ed) RV. VS MS.
SB. TA. In a different context in RV from the others

āyushmān ('mān, °māñ) *jaradaṣṭir yathāsat* (RVKh VS °sam, AV also
°sānt) AV. (both RVKh. VS. AG PG ApMB Used in no less than
four different stanzas, two in AV, one in RVKh. VS., and one in
the GS. texts

yatra devaḥ sadhamādam madema (AV. *madanti*) AV. MS. TB. In

three different contexts; no two alike But AV. comm reads *madema*.

ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmi (ApMB *kṛnomi*) RV. ApMB.: *ariṣṭām mā saha patyā dadhātu* KŚ MŚ MG : *ariṣṭāhaṁ saha patyā bhūyāsam* VS. Similar stanzas, but extensively recast. 'I set thee (let him set me, may I be) uninjured with thy (my) husband.' In the last two forms the woman speaks

saṁjānate manasā sam cikitre RV · *saṁjānāmahai manasā sam cikritvā* AV.

sarvam āyur vy ānaṣe (MS. *aśnavai*) MS. TB. ApŚ.: *viśvam āyur vy aśnavai* (AV mss. °*vat*) AV VS KS TB.: *dirgham āyur vy aśnavai* PG. The vulgate text of AV emends to °*vam*, unnecessarily; subject is *sabhā* The context is different from the rest.

Deliberate *ūhas* or *vikāras*

ayam (AŚ. **aham*) *śatrūn jayatu* (AŚ * *jayāmi*) *jarhṣānah* (AŚ. * *tjar-hṣānah*), *ayam* (AŚ * *aham*) *vājam* (VS. VSK. ŚB. *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ. * *jayāmi*) *vājasātau* VS. VSK. TS MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis).

In AŚ. 2. 11. 8c we have a *vikāra* of the other passage.

divyam dhāmāśāste (and, *ūha*, *āśāse*) ŚB TB AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

adṛṣan (and, *apaśyam*) *tvāvarohantam* NīlarU. (both). The first is a *vikāra* of the other.

tam tvā paramēsthin pari rohita (*pari agnur*, *pari aham*)... *dadhātu* (*dadhāmi*) AV. 13 1 17d. 18d, 19d

jyotiṣe tantava āśiṣam āśāse (KS 7 2 °*ste*) KS 7. 2, 9 (so, correct Conc.)

If these are the correct readings, we have another case of *ūha*.

But the sole ms used by the ed. for 7.2 reads *āśāste* also in 7.9; if corrupt in one passage, it is likely to be corrupt in the other too.

The better reading seems to be *āśāse*; probably read so both times, with ms D on 7.9 and KapS (see editor's note).

gamat sa (*gamema*; *sa gantā*) *gomat vraje* RV. (all).

jyok paśyema (RV also *paśyāt*, and *paśyema nu*, omitting *jyok*) *sūryam uccarantam* RV. (all) AV.

§325 Corruptions or errors:

idam vām lena prīnāmi ŚŚ : *etad vām lena prīṇāti* TB. ApŚ. So Conc., and so Garbe reads in ApŚ But TB. (both edd.) has *prīnāni*, and this is to be read also in ApŚ, see Caland on 2. 20. 6, note 2.

vājino me yajñam vahān (MŚ text *vahāni*, followed by *iti*; probably read *vahān* with v 1) MS KS MŚ

rāyas poṣāyotsrje (MS. erroneously °*jet*) MS MŚ.

tām te vācam āśya ādatte (read *ādade*)... PG. 3. 13. 6 (see Stenzler's critical note): *ā te vācam āśyā* (*āśyām*) *dade* HG. ApMB.

sthāmny aśvān atīṣṭhipam AV. *sthāmni vṛklāv atīṣṭhipan* AV. vulgate, misprint for **pam*, see Whitney on 7. 96 1

Under: *prānena vācā manasā bibharmi*, Conc quotes TB. 2 5 8 7 as reading *bibharti*; this is an error, there is no variant

4. Variants between Second and Third Person

§326 These are much more numerous than those between first and either second or third person. Nor are they by any means lacking in interest. But little comment is needed on most of them. The great majority are simply cases in which the same subject is alternatively addressed in second person or indirectly referred to in third; and the most interesting feature of this large class is that sometimes one or the other form is inconsistent with its context. This inconsistency may be of two kinds: either the subject of the second person may be a nominative or that of the third person a vocative, or parallel expressions in the surrounding context may be of the opposite type (direct address by the side of third-personal reference) in one form. Examples of all these types have been quoted above, §293f, they will form the basis of the following classification. We shall conclude with the smaller, but still not inconsiderable, number of cases in which the change of person is associated with a real change of subject, either in the same context, or owing to the use of the phrase in a different context.

§327. (a) First, then, variations between direct address and third-personal indirect reference to the same subject, in which there is no inconsistency with the context in either variant. The subject, if expressed, is nominative with the 3d person and vocative with the 2d; and if there are parallel expressions associated, they present no inconsistencies. In not a few instances, as we shall presently see, a whole stanza, containing several parallel verbs, is recast, each verb being changed from 2d to 3d person or vice versa.

§328 Attention must first be called to the little group of cases in which Soma is referred to in the 3d person in RV., but directly addressed in the 2d person in a repetition in SV.; see §295, and for cases in which the context is inconsistent, §334

agre sindhūnām pavamāno arṣatī (SV. **ṣī*), *agre vāco agriyo goṣu gachatī* (SV. **ṣī*), *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV. **se mahad dhanam*), *srāyudhah solṛbhīh pūyate vṛṣā* (SV. **bhīh soma sūyase*) RV. SV. Here an entire stanza is recast; note that the nominative subject of RV. becomes a vocative in SV.

[*ayā somah* (SV. *soma*) *sulṛtyayā*,] *mahaṣ cid abhy avardhata* (SV. *ma-*

hānt sann abhy avarḥathāh), *mandāna ud* (SV. *id*) *vṛṣāyate* (SV. °se) RV. SV.

te no dhāntu (SV. *dhatta*) *suwīryam* RV. SV. There is no expressed subject, nor other finite verb, in the stanza; Soma is understood as subject

pavitre pari śicyate (SV. °se), *krandan devān aṣṭyanat* (SV. °nah) RV. SV.

The (unexpressed) subject is Soma

pavamāno vy aśnavat (SV. °na vy aśnuh) RV. SV.

nadayann eti (SV. *eṣi*) *pṛthivīm uta dyām*, and, in same stanza *pracelayann arṣati* (SV. *pracodayann arṣasi*) *vācam emām* RV. SV.

In this and the rest the unexpressed subject is Soma

vājān abhi pra gāhate (SV. °se) RV. SV

hariḥ san yonum āsadat (SV. °dah) RV. SV

§329. The rest are miscellaneous, and need no subdivision At the beginning of the list are placed a number of instances of entire stanzas, or series of formulas, varying in this way:

navo-navo bhavati (AV. JUB. °s) *jāyamānah*, *ahnām ketur uṣasām ety* (AV.† *eṣy*) *agram* (TS. *agre*), *bhāgam devebhyo vidadhāty* (AV. °sy) *āyan*, *pra candramās tīrate* (TS. °ti, AV.† °mas *tīrase*) *dīrgham āyuh* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N.; the first pāda also TB. AŚ. HG. BDh. JUB. VHDh

iha (AV. *etu*) *tisrah parāvatah*, *ihi* (AV. *etu*) *pañca janān ahi*, *ihi* (AV. *etu*) *tisro 'ti rocanāh* (AV. °nā, despite gender of *tisro*!) RV. (first two pādas only) AV. TB. ApS. Address to, or said of, a rival

ye rātrim (KS. °im) *anulīṣthanhi* (KS.† °aiha), *ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrati* (KS. °grtha), *paśūn ye sarvān rakṣanti* (KS. °aiha), *te na ātmasu jāgrati* (KS.† *jāgrā*) AV. KS

amoci (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avarṭyati* (AV. *avadyāt*), *druhaḥ pāśān nurṭyati codamoci* (AV. *pāśād grāhyās codamukthāh*), *ahā avarṭim* (AV. *arātim*) *avidat* (AV. °dah) *syonam*, *apy abhūd* (AV. *abhūr*) *bhadre sukṛtasya loke* AV. TB. ApMB. The two verse-halves are secondarily separated in AV. but obviously belong together, see Whitney on AV. 2. 10. 2. The verb *ahā(s)* may be either 2d or 3d person, and thus ambiguity may be responsible for the alteration in the others. Probably AV. with its second persons is secondary (*ahās* seemed to call for them!), for Ppp. has all verbs in the same form as TB. ApMB. (Barret, JAOS. 30. 193).

yad asarpat (KS. °pas) *iat sarpir abhavat* (KS. °vah, MS. omits), *yan navam aṭi* (KS. *ais*) *tan navanītam abhavat* (KS. °vah), *yad aghrīyata* (KS. °thās, TS. *adhrīyata*) *tad ghrītam abhavat* (KS. °vah, MS. omits) TS. MS. KS. The butter is referred to or addressed

hato (SV. TB. *hatho*) *vrtrāny āryā* (AV TB *apratī*) RV AV SV TB.. followed in RV. SV by

hato (SV *hatho*) *dāsāni satpatī*, *hato* (SV *hatho*) *viśvā apa dviṣah* RV SV. In SV the entire stanza is changed to a direct address. The first pāda is used in AV. TB in a different stanza, addressed however to the same gods (Indra and Agni), who are directly addressed in the 2d person, as Whitney remarks, only *hatho* (as in TB) is construable, yet all AV mss., followed by both edd., read *hato*. Thus AV. reading belongs to §332 below. It seems clear that it is a very ancient perversion, due to recollection of the Rigvedic form of the pāda.

pitṛn yakṣad (TS *yakṣy*) *rtāvṛdhah*, preceded by, *yo agnīh* (TS *yad agne*) *kavyavāhanah* (TS "na, RV *kravya*"), and followed by. *pred u* (TS *pra ca*) *havyāni vocatī* (TS *vakṣyasi*) RV VS TS KS *uttame nāka iha mādayantām* (MŚ "yadhvam") TS TB ApŚ MŚ. See above, §303

akartām aśvinā lakṣma AV *kṛnutam lakṣmāśvinā* AV See §130 *agnir me hotā sa mopahwayatām* SB. *agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva* KS ApŚ. MŚ *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait

agnināgnih samvadatām TA *agne agninā samvadasva* TA. ApŚ *iha rama* MS. AB AŚ ApŚ *iha ramah*† HG 1 12 2 (not *rama*, construe as noun). *iha ramatām* VS ŚB HG. Used in various connexions, but in VS and MS in precisely the same set of formulas. The immediately preceding formula in both is addressed to gods, referring (in 3d person) to the sacrificial horse, but just before this the horse is directly addressed in a series of formulas, hence it is easy for MS. to address *iha rama* directly to the horse, no harshness is felt. VS, however, is equally natural in referring to the horse in the third person, the prayer in *iha ramatām* may quite as well be addressed to the gods just mentioned. Mahidhara, however, thinks the horse must be addressed, and supplies *bhavān* with *ramatām* — There seems to be nothing inconsistent with the person in the other texts

dyām (VSK *divam*) *agrenāsprkṣa āntarikṣam madhyenāprāk pṛthivīm uparenādrīhīh* VS VSK (for which read in Conc "āsprkṣah") KS ŚB (address in all to the *yūpa*); *devo vanaspatir* (sc *yūpo*) *varsaprāvā ghṛtanirṇag dyām agrenāsprkṣad āntarikṣam madhyenāprāk pṛthivīm uparenādrīhīh*. MS. KS TB Note that *aprās* may be either 2d or 3d person, and that KS has both forms of the variant *uṣo dadṛkṣe* (PB. *ūṣā*, read *uṣā*, *dadṛṣe*) *na punar yātava* RV PB

- śivena mā* (ApMB. *tvā*) *cakṣuṣā paśyatāpah* (ApMB. *paśyantu āpah*), *śivayā tanvopa sprśata tvacam me* (ApMB *sprśantu tvacam te*) AV. TS. MS. AB. ApMB *āpah* nom. in ApMB, voc in the rest.
- stego na kṣām aty eti prthvīm* (AV. *esi prthvīm*) RV. AV. In a riddle-some verse, the meaning of which is equally obscure in either form; there is nothing inconsistent with either person in the context.
- svargena lokena samprornuvāthām* Vait; *svarge* (TS TB *suvarge*) *loke prornuvāthām* (TS KSA † TB. *sampror°*; VSK TS TB. *°rṇvā°*; MS *°iām*) VS VSK. TS. KSA. MS. TB. ŚB. Address to (in MS said of) the queen and the horse in the *āśvamedha*.
- ghṛtena* (Kauś. *vapayā*) *dyāvāprthivī prornuvāthām* (VS. TS ApŚ. *prornuvātham*, MS MŚ *prornuvātām*) VS VSK. TS. MS. KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ. Kauś. The subject, *dyāvāprthivī*, is nom. in MS MŚ.
- sam arir* (MS. KS. *arir*) *vidām* (KS. *vidah*) VS MS. KS ŚB The formula is obscure; see Eggeling on ŚB. 3 9. 4 21. No basis for preference as to person.
- kurvato me mā kṣeṣṭa* (GB Vait. *kṣeṣṭhāh*) MS. GB Vait . . *mopadasat* TS. KS. TB ApŚ And *sadato me mā kṣāyi* (GB *me mopadasah*, MS. *°sat*), same texts
- āśvinā pibatam* (VS KŚ *°iām*) *madhu* (TB. ApŚ *sutam*) RV VS. TB ApŚ MŚ. and (pratika) KŚ. *āśvinā* nom or voc.
- ity adadāh* (ŚB. *°dāt*) ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ The subject is the *yajamāna*, who is praised either in direct address or indirect reference by singers: "Thus thou didst (he did) give!" Similarly: *ity ayajathāh* (ŚB *°ta*), and *ity ayudhyathāh* (ŚB and, as quoted in Conc, MŚ *°ta*), and: *ity amum samgrāmam ahan* (MŚ. *ajayathāh*, ŚB. *ajayat*), same texts [I question the citation from MŚ. 9 2 2 *ayudhyata*, since it is inconsistent with all the others; it was furnished by Knauer from mss for the Conc, and has not been published even yet. F. E]
- idam vātena sagarena rakṣa* (MS. *rakṣatu*) TS MS. KS AŚ Subject in prec pāda, *indra* (MS *indrah*) *stomena*. . Note that *indra* before *st-* might be understood as = *indrah* The MS makes this single pāda (in a *tristubh* verse) *jagati*, and is clearly secondary.
- devā deveṣu śrayantām* (TB *śrayadhvam*), *prathamā dvitīyeṣu śrayantām* (TB *śrayadhvam*), *dvitīyās tṛtīyeṣu śrayantām* (TB. *°dhvam*) KS. TB. Subj *devāh*, voc or nom.
- no asmin ramate jane* (AV *ramase patau*) RV AV ApMB. Subject is a rival wife
- mahyam* (this goes with prec pāda in MŚ) *yajamānāya tiṣṭha* (MŚ. *tiṣṭhatu*, mss. *tiṣṭhat*) TS MŚ.

yato na punar āyasy (AV °ti) AV TB ApŚ Address to, or spoken of, a rival AV Ppp. agrees with TB ApŚ

ślakṣnam evāva gūhati (ŚŚ °si) AV ŚŚ. And (prec vs):

tīṣṭhantam ava gūhati AV *tīṣṭhann evāvagūhasi* ŚŚ (but here the mss of AV have *gūhasi*) Unintelligible stuff.

sam revatīr jagatībhiḥ prcyaṇtām sam (VSK om *pr° sam*) *madhumatīr madhumatībhiḥ prcyaṇtām* VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ. *sam revatīr jagatībhir madhumatīr madhumatībhiḥ sṛgyadhvam* TS TB The adjectives are noms even in TS TB, but no noun subject is exprest, so that this cannot be called a syntactic inconsistency

yadā prāno abhyavarṣit AV *yadā tvam abhivarṣasi* PraśU *tvam* refers to *prāṇa*, the stanza is identical

kāmam duhātām iha śakvarībhiḥ AV *rāṣtram duhātām iha revatībhiḥ* TB The subject, *dyāvāprthivī*, is nom in AV, despite which most of its mss read *duhātām* (but Ppp °tām). In TB it is made voc

gām copasṛṣtām vīhāram cāntarena mā samcāriṣṭa ApŚ (followed by *iti sampreṣyati*). *vīhāram ca gām copasṛṣtām antarena mā samcāriṣuḥ* MŚ (followed by *iti brūyāt*) '(He orders, or he shall say) "Do not (they, the people, shall not) step between the cow and the vīhāra"'

agnir āyus tenāyusāyusmān edhi MS *agnir āyusmān tasyāyam āyusāyusmān asti asau* KS And others, see Conc

agne vīhi AB ŚB AŚ MŚ *agnir hotā vetv.* TB AŚ ŚŚ

agnīṣ tām asmāt pra nunottu lokāt MŚ *agnīṣ tām* (VS *tām*; AŚ. *tāl*) *lokāt pra nudāty* (AŚ *nudāty*, SMB *nudaty*) *asmāt* VS ŚB. AŚ.

ApŚ SMB. *agne tām asmāt pra nudasva lokāt* ApŚ

athemā vīsvāh pṛtanā jayāsi (RV * °ti) RV (both) SV AB TB The subject is Indra both times, tho the context varies, *jayāti* is probably secondary See RVRep 397

aditīh keśān vapatu AG MG ApMB *aditīh śmaśru vapatu* AV. MG. *adite keśān* (and, *keśaśmaśru*) *vapa* PG

antar mahānś carati (and, °si) *rocanena* RV (both) Agni is the subject both times, tho the context varies

annapate 'nnasya (annasya) no dehi VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *Prūnāgu* AG ŚG MG ApMB *annasyānnapatīh prādāt* PB: of *āsāye 'nnasya no dhehi* Kauś

abhi prayānsi sudhītām hi lhyah (and, *lhyat*) RV. (both). Agni is the subject both times

ararur (MS *ararus te*) *dyām mā paptat* MS KS ApŚ. *araro duam mā paptah* VS ŚB Vait

avasānapate 'vasānam me vinda TB. ApŚ.: *avasānam me 'vasānapatir vinda* MŚ

avāṣṣṭat (RV * °jah) *sartave sapta sindhūn* RV. (both) AV JUB

avyo (SV. PB. °yam) *vāram vi dhāvati* (RV. * °si) RV (both) SV. PB :
avyo vāram vi pavamāna dhāvati (subject is here *rasa*) RV.

aśmnāv eha gachatam RV AB AŚ ŚŚ . *gachatām* (TS TB. °tam, in the same stanza) RV TS TB N The subject is nom. with 3d person, voc with 2d

asmabhyam citram vṛṣanam rayam dāh RV. SV. MS TB . *dāt* (but so only p p in MS, its *samhitā* mss *dāh*!) MS TB Indra is the subject in both, but the stanzas are otherwise different; in the first direct address, in the second indirect reference The *samhitā* mss of MS. were influenced by recollection of the other form of the *pāda*

kṣeme tṛṣṭhātī (ŚG *tṛṣṭha*, PG *tṛṣṭhatu*, HG *tṛṣṭhati*) *ghṛtam ukṣamānā* AV ŚG PG. HG. The subject is a house (*śālā*), which is directly addressed in the sequel even in AV. Nevertheless the 3d person is logical and natural, since the house is indirectly referred to in the preceding

(*prṣṭhena dyāvāprthivī* (MS adds *āprna*)] *antarikṣam ca vi bādhasē* (MS. *bādhasva*, TS *bādhatām*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB See §116 Addressed to, or said of, one of the altar-bricks The preceding contains an address to Indra-Agni, the sudden shift to a direct address to the brick may have seemed harsh to the redactor of TS, hence his (evidently secondary) change to third person

asmāsu nṛmnam dhāt MS. TA ŚŚ : *asmāsu nṛmnam dhāh* KB Same context, but KB's version is fragmentary, it contains nothing inconsistent with the 2d person

svāttam cit sadavam havyam āpo devīh svadatanam TS ApŚ *svāttam sad dhavir āpo devīh svadantu* MS : *āpo devīh svadantu* (VSK *sad*) *svāttam cit sad devahavih* VS. VSK ŚB Subject *āpo devīh*, voc or nom

āyātu varadā devī TAA TA MahānU *āyāhi viraṇe devī* MG

(*abaddham mano*) *dikṣe mā mā hāsīh* (KŚ *hāsī*) TS KŚ BDh .
(*adabdhām cakṣur*) *dikṣen* (sc *dikṣā-īd*) *mā mā hāsī satapā* MŚ
The KŚ reading, with voc subject and 3d person verb, belongs in the next subdivision, but is doubtless corrupt; read probably *dikṣen* in KŚ Cf however Keith's AA 237, note

(*īndrah*, SV *indra*) *kratum punīta* (SV °ṣa) *ukthyam* RV SV
īndro vājam ajayit TS TB . *indra vājam jaya* VS MS KS ŚB

uṣṇena vāya udakenehi (SMB. GG. *udakenardhi*, ApMB *vāyav udakenehi*, MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG. SMB. GG PG. ApMB. MG On the very dubious form of MG see §136

apālām aśvinā gharṁam VS ŚB ŚŚ LŚ : *gharṁam apālam aśvinā* (accented in MS! but not in TA ; TA adds *hārdvānam*) MS TA. ApŚ : *aśvinā gharṁam pālam hārdvānam* (MS *pībālam hārdvānam*, TA *pālam hārdvānam*, LŚ. *pālam aharvyānam*) VS MS ŚB. TA. ŚŚ LŚ. ApŚ (in the last *aśvinā* is voc in all, this precedes the other form of the variant in all) The MS form of the first-quoted formula is inconsistent (if not corrupt) and belongs in the next subdivision

devān ā sādāyād (TB ApŚ °yā) *īha* RV VS. KS TB. ApŚ Agni is the subject in both, but the contexts are otherwise different.

nyṁnā punāno arṣasī RV SV. *nyṁnā vasāno* (SV *punāno*) *arṣati* RV. SV. Subject is Soma Pavamāna both times Contrast §328

punāno vācam iṣyati (and, °sī) RV (both) As in preceding *sāvitrīm bho anu brūhi* AG ŚG. ApG MG. *sāvitrīm me bhavān an bravītu* GG

madhvā yayānam nakṣati (VS TS. *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV *prat*°) AV VS TS MS KS Followed by *narāsanso agnih* (VS TS KS *agne*). All are consistent except KS, which belongs with the next subdivision

syūtā devebhir amṛtenāgah (MS KS °gāt) TS MS KS ApŚ The stanza is radically reconstructed, tho fundamentally the same. *prthivi mātā mā mā hīṣih* . VS TS ŚB ŚŚ. : *mā mām mātā prthivi hīṣit* TS MS

bhavati bhikṣām dehi Kauś : *bhavān bhikṣām dadātu* AG

yudhendro mahnā varuṣa cakāra RV AV *yudhā devebhyo varuṣa cakārtha* RV AV The subject of *cakārtha* is Indra in one (and that probably the older one) of the two occurrences in RV., see RVRep 87

swayam pibantu (TS *juhudhvam*) *madhuno ghṛtasya* VS TS MS. KS ŚB.

īrṇoti (RV.* *raṣā ca*) *no damyebhir anīkaiḥ* RV (both) AB. See RVRep 110

rājā pavitraratho vājam āruhak (and, °hat), followed by : *sahasrabhṛtīr jayasi* (and, °ti) *śravo brhat* RV. (both). Subject is Soma Pavamāna.

yathāgnir alṣito 'nupadasta *evam mahyam pītre* 'lṣito 'nupadasta (HG. °taḥ) *svadhā bhava* (HG. *bhavatām*) ApMB HG And the same

with *yathā vāyur...*, *yathādityo* Subject is *ūrmh* (waters offered to the manes), either directly addressed or indirectly referred to

viśvedevāso adhī vocatā nah (TS me) RV. TS. *viśve devā abhi rakṣantu* (KS *anu tiṣṭhantu*) meha AV. KS † 'O All-gods, bless us (me)', or 'let the All-gods protect (attend) us' The All-gods are not otherwise mentioned in the stanza, nevertheless the direct address to them seems rather harsh, hence, no doubt, the change to 3d person in AV KS, and hence, perhaps, Keith's presumably accidental translation (of TS 4 7 14 2d) as 3d person ('may the all-gods befriend me', 'befriend' is not a happy rendering of *adhī-vocatā*).

vy antarikṣam atarah RV AV *atirat* RV AV SV AB GB AŚ Vait. Subject is Indra, in different stanzas, both consistent
śyeno na vansu śidatī RV SV. *śyeno na vīkṣu śidatī* RV SV.. *śyeno na vansu kalāṣeṣu śidatī* RV. Soma Pavamāna is the subject in all
sam dev (KS *dev*) *devyōrvatyā paśyasva* (KS *ōrvatyāhhyata*) TS KS ApŚ

sa yaṣṇam pāhi (ŚŚ *pātu*) *sa* (AŚ *om*) *yaṣṇāpatim pāhi* (ŚŚ *omits*) *sa mām pāhi* (ŚŚ. *pātu*) TB GB AŚ Vait ŚŚ ApŚ

yaṣṇa pratīkṣiṣṭha sumatau sūsevāh TB. ApŚ. *yaṣṇah praty u śīhāt sumatau matinām* MŚ See §158

mātevāsmā adīte śarma yacha (ŚG. *aditih śarma yansat*) AV TS MS KS TB TA ŚG ApMB

sahāvatu jarāyunā ŚB BrhU *saha jarāyunāva sarpatu* (ApMB *ōyunā niṣkrāmya*) HG ApMB. *sahāvehi jarāyunā* RV *sākam jarāyunā pata* AV The contexts are all similar, and each is internally consistent.

indriyam me vīryam mā nīr vadhīh (MŚ *vadhīṣṭa*) TS MŚ The subject is soma in either case The variant belongs here if *vadhīh* is 2d person as assumed by Keith on TS 3 1 8 3, but since MŚ has a 3d person, *vadhīh* may also be 3d person as assumed by Caland and Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* 153 (Keith's objection, I c, is not valid)

yathāvaśam tanvam (AV *ōvaḥ*) *kalpayāhi* (RV *ōyasva*) RV. AV VS. Context contains *svarād*, nom (in apposition to subject), even in RV, this is doubtless responsible for the lectio facilior of AV. VS, no subject is formally expressed in RV

vājino vājanto vājam sarīṣyanto (TS ApŚ add, *vājam jeṣyanto*) *bṛhaspater bhāgam avajighrata* VS TS ŚB ApŚ *vājinau vājantau vājam jīvā bṛhaspater bhāgam avajighratam* (KS *ōtām*) MS KS MŚ. The same noun forms, alternatively taken as noms or vocs So also in next

vājino vājayito vājam sasṛvāṅso (KS *jṛīvāṅso*; TS *sasṛvāṅso vājam jṛivāṅso*) *bṛhaspater bhāgam avajighrata ni mrjānāḥ* (KS *bhāge ni mrjātām*, TS *bhāge ni mṛddhvam*) VS TS KS ŚB : *vājinau vājayitau vājam jivā bṛhaspater bhāge nimirjyethām* MS MŚ

aram aśvāya gāyati (SV. °ta) RV. SV. Subject is the n pr Śrutakakṣa in next pāda, nom in RV, voc in SV. Note plural verb despite singular subject in SV

asme dhārayatam (MŚ °tām) *rayim* RV. MŚ *asmar dhārayatam rayim* AV Subject *agnīṣomā*, originally voc, felt as nom in MŚ

om utsṛjata (MG. °tu) TA ŚŚ AG PG ApMB ApG. HG. MG. *utsṛja* (LŚ °jata) *gām* LŚ SMB GG See §347

ṛtunā somam pibātām (KS °tu, MŚ † °tām) KS MŚ. ApŚ. Subject *Aśvins* in ApŚ MŚ (nom or voc), in KS a priest

mā mā hāsīn (MŚ *hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ. na) *tvā jahāmi* (KS °na) AV. KS. MŚ : *mā no hāsīn melhito net tvā jahāmi* TB ApŚ *mā no hīnsīd dhīnsito na tvā jahāmi* AŚ The subject, in prec, is nom in all, but the rest of the verse, including the latter part of this variant (note *tvā*), is thrown into a direct address in 2d person, and MŚ. assimilates its *hāsīs* to this, instead of *hāsī* Neither form can therefore be called inconsistent with the context

asau yaja AŚ *asau yajate* LŚ

bhuvad vīśvam abhy ādevam ojasā RV *bhuvo vīśvam abhy ādevam ojasā* SV. Subject is *Indra* Preceded by direct address in 2d person, but followed by reference in 3d person, thus neither form is inconsistent with surroundings

aśvinā bhīṣajāvataḥ (MS °tam, TB † °ta) VS MS TB. See §116

yā (AV. TS *yāv*) *ātmanvad bibhrto* (KS † °tho, AV *vīśatho*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (KS † AV °thah) AV TS. MS KS Followed in same texts by

yau vīśvasya paribhū (KS *vīśvasyādhīpā*) *babhūvathuk* (TS † °tuh) These are pādas b and c of a verse in which the subjects, *Vāyu* and *Savitar*, are in all texts referred to in 3d person in a, and directly address in d Therefore no text is completely consistent in the verse, and the variant pādas are in every case consistent with a part of the context

buddhāḥ pūṭā bhavata (TA °tha, MG °ntu) *yajñnyāsah* RV TA MG Also in pāda a MG recasts the expression to make the verb 3d person instead of 2d, it is internally consistent, altho secondary and poor

imam no yajñam vihave juṣasva (AV *śṛnotu*) RVKh AV TS KS TB.

The AV is consistent with the prec half verse (3d person); the others, with the following pāda (direct address in all). Subject Indra.

rāyas poṣaṁ (KS *tvastāh poṣāya*) *vi śyatu* (AV MS KS. *vi śya*) *nābhīm asme* (AV. *asya*) AV. VS. TS MS KS TB ApŚ. The subject, Tvaṣṭar, is nom with 3d person, voc. with 2d. On the dual form of the variant (*viśyatām*) see §368

§330. With accompanying change in number.

prathamam artim yuyotu nah MG. *pra sa* (read *su*) *mṛtyum yuyotana* HG: *pra sumartyam* (ApMB *su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* SMB. ApMB The subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere

tena brahmāno vapatedam asya (ŚG *adya*) AV TB. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB *tena brāhmano vāpatu* MG *tenāsyāyuse vapa* ApMB 'By that (razor), O priests, shave his (head) here' or 'by that let the priest shave (him)', or (a kind of *ūha* in ApMB) 'by that shave thou his (head) unto long life'

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharatām (AŚ *sambhavatām*, MŚ *saṁbharetām*) TB ApŚ AŚ MŚ In TB ApŚ address to god Agni (2d sing), in AŚ. MŚ subject is two fires (3d dual)

rājānam samgāyata (PG **getām*) ŚG PG. Stenzler renders PG. as a direct address, as if **gāyethām* were the reading, tho he quotes no such reading. There seems to be no reason why the two lute-players should not be referred to in the 3d person: 'let them sing of the king' In ŚG a plurality of lute-players is directly address

salakṣmā (MS. KS **ma*) *yad viśurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB. **pam*) *bhavāt* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV. VS MS. KS ŚB. *viśurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS See §104, h In the YV. texts used of the animal victim, who is addressed in the sequel, hence the change to 2d person in TS, which is however evidently secondary. *anu ma idam vratam vralapatir manyatām* MS.. *anu me dikṣām dikṣāpatir manyatām* (KS **patayo manyadhvam*, ŚB.* **patir amansta*) VS TS KS GB ŚB. (bis) Vait See §130.

§331. There are a few variants in which a verb in a relative clause is alternatively made 3d person, because of the relative pronoun serving as subject, tho the person referred to is still directly address. This psychological shift is familiar in other languages:

yā tiraścī nipadyase (AŚ ŚŚ. SMB. **te*) ŚB. BṛhU. AŚ. ŚŚ SMB. ApMB. HG. The same person is directly address in all: 'thou who hest (lies) down across . '

ya ājagma (N °*muḥ*) *savanemā* (TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam idam*, VS. MS ŚB *ya ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāh* AV VS TS MS KS. ŚB N. '(O gods) who have come' etc., gods are directly addressed in all. Only N makes verb 3d person, because of the relative

yad aīṣi manasā dūram PG : *ya eti pradīśah sarvāh* ApMB The subject is addressed in the 2d person (pronoun *tvā*) in the sequel even in ApMB, the third person is due to the relative 'Who goest (or, if thou goest) to all directions (to a distance with thy mind)' is the real meaning of both

yā rājānā (TS °*nam*) *saratham yātha* (MS *yāta*) *ugrā* TS MS KS '(O Mitra-Varuna,) who go, two kings, mighty, against the (warrior) with his chariot (or, who go, mighty, against the king with his chariot)'—[do ye free us from sin]

Possibly the following also belongs here

mā yah somam imam pibāt (KŚ *pibā*, KS *somam pibād imam*) KS TB KŚ. ApŚ See §319 The next pāda begins with *s*, possibly *pibāh* (if not even *pibāt*) is to be read in KŚ If the text is correct, of course *pibā* is 1st person, not 2d

§332. (b) There remain a number of cases of this same sort in which one form of the variant is more or less inconsistent with its own context. Thus, first, there are cases in which third-person verbs are used altho the subject is vocative, or is referred to with second-person pronouns, pointing to direct address. These cases, naturally, tempt to emendation, but probably the temptation should usually be resisted, as it certainly should in the following verse of PG. Such third-person verbs occur no less than three times in it, and are translated by Stenzler as second-persons, altho he very properly did not venture to emend his text in view of the insistent tradition. The comm. supplies *bhavanlau*, and this familiar classical third-personal expression for what is really a direct address is, no doubt, influential in many of these expressions in later texts. Cf. *bhavaṭi bhikṣām dehi* (*bhavaṇ bhikṣām dadātu*), §329

yena śrīyam (PG *śrīyam*) *akṛnutam* (PG °*lām*, ŚŚ *śrīyāv akurutam*), *yenāpāmṛśatam* (PG °*vamṛśatām*) *surām*, *yenākṣān* (ŚŚ °*kṣām*, PG °*kṣyāv*) *abhyasīñcatam* (PG °*lām*), *yad vām tad aśvinā yaśah*, ŚŚ PG SMB The first pāda also GG (reading as SMB), the third also AV, reading *yenākṣā abhyasicyanta* (the dice are made the subject of the now passive verb) See §293

Or, conversely, one form of the variant has a 2d person verb with a nominative subject, as

tā enam praviḍvānsau śrapayatam MS : *tāv imam paśum śrapayatām praviḍvānsau* TB Not only the pronoun and adjective referring to the subject in this pāda, but the noun subjects in the prec. are nom in MS.

mā no gharma vyathito vvyadhīt (TA *vvyatho nah*) MS TA · *mā nah soma hvarito vīhvarasva* MŚ (so read, see §159), followed in same verse by:

mo śvalvam asmān tarādāt (so read with p p) MS *mā sv* (Poona ed. *ma śv*) *asmāns tamasy antar ādhāt* TA *mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt* (ms *ādāt*) MŚ In view of the voc *gharma* (*soma*), it would appear that MS MŚ must understand the subject to be indefinite; but it can hardly be anything else than the *gharma* The formula is a *prāyaścitta* spoken upon ominous performance of the *gharma* or *soma*-offering

adabdhō gopāh (KS † *gopah*) *pari pāhi nas tvam* (KS *pari pātu mśvatah*) RV TS KS · *tvam no gopāh pari pāhi mśvatah* AV. The subject (in prec pāda) is *agne* RV AV, *agnir* TS KS; TS is inconsistent (2d person with subject nom)

agnir dād (TS *dā*) *dravinam vīrapeśāh* RV TS The subject being *agnir*, TS is inconsistent, but note the following *dr-*, and cf §24.

srjad dhārā ava yad dānavān han SV · *srjo vi dhārā ava dānavam han* RV N The subject is *indra*, voc, even in SV, and the prec. parallel verbs are 2d person.

kadā sutam tṛṣāna oka ā gamah (SV *gamat*) RV. SV AV The subject is the voc *indra*, followed by *sv-* and perhaps felt as nom (for *indrak*) in SV? Benfey baldly translates 3d person verb with voc. subject

devebhyo havyam (MS MŚ MG *havyā*) *vahatu prajānan* RV AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB TB Vait. MŚ Kauś. MG · *devebhyo havyam vaha nah* (Kauś omits *nah*) *prajānan* TB. AŚ ŚŚ. ApŚ Kauś There are three different contexts here, one with the second variant, and two with the first All are consistent with their contexts except that MŚ alone has the form *vahatu* with a preceding voc subject

patyur janītvam abhi sam babhūtha (TA *babhūva*) RV AV TA. See §262, f The subject is *tvam*, and TA. comm glosses *babhūva* with a 2d person

pītā mātariśvāchdrā padā dhāh (KS AŚ *dhāt*) TS KS AB AŚ. 5. 9. 1. In TS AB nom subject with 2d person verb; KS AŚ are consistent.

vy astabhnā (VS. ŚB. *aska°*, MS *aṣka°*, KS. *aṣta°*, TS. *aṣlabhnād*, TA. *aṣtabhnā*) *rodasī viṣṇav* (VS MS. KS *viṣṇa*, TS. *viṣṇur*) etc. followed by.

dādhartha (TS *dādharma*) *prthurīm abhilo mayūkhaiḥ* RV. VS TS MS. KS ŚB TA. The prec half verse is address to Heaven and Earth; hence, no doubt, TS. changes these pādas to a 3d person reference to Viṣṇu, which seems less harsh than a direct address to him. TA. has a blend, being internally inconsistent, or at least harsh; despite the voc subject and the 2d person verb retained in pāda d, it joins TS in having a 3d person verb in pāda c.

tasya na iṣṭasya prīṭasya draviṇehāgameḥ, etc (see § 104, u). Here all forms of the variant are self-consistent (nom. with 3d person, voc with 2d) except MS, which has *draviṇagamyāt*; its pp reads *draviṇa* (accented¹): is this form possibly felt as a nom pl neuter, with sing verb? The following parallel formulas in MS have 3d person verbs with nom. subjects

yamasya dūtaś ca rāg vidhāratī (TA. *dūtaḥ śrapād vidhāratī*): followed by:

grdhrah suparnah kuṇḍapam niṣevati (TA. *niṣevase*) MS TA. The TA. comm regards the *grdhra* as address, despite the nom form.

[*viśasya deiṁ mrcayasya* (ŚŚ *mṛṣayasya janmano*) *na yā roṣāti na grabhat* (ŚŚ *grabhaḥ*) AB AŚ ŚŚ 'The goddess of the imperishable (?) kind, who shall not be angry, shall not (or, do not) seize us' Keith takes *grabhat* as part of the relative clause, which leaves no main verb in the passage; it seems better to regard *grabhat* as the main verb with subject *deiṁ*. It may be that the original reading was *deiṁ* (voc), followed by *grabhaḥ*, and that *grabhat* is due to secondary form assimilation to *roṣāti*, whose 3d personal form is justified by the relative (cf §331). As it stands, ŚŚ is inconsistent, since the only possible subject for its 2d person verb is nominative. *ajātaśatruḥ syonā no astu* TS MS AŚ : *ajātaśatrus suhavo na edhi* KS. The subjects (a series of nouns, in the preceding) are all noms; KS is harsh

yajamānāya dravinam dadhātu (VS. ŚB KS **dadhāta*) AV VS. VSK TS MS. KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. The subject is nominative, and parallel clause 3d person, in all. On the plural see § 355

hato (SV. TB *hatho*) *vṛtrāny āryā* (AV. TB *apratī*) RV AV. SV. TB The AV. variant is inconsistent as between subject and person of the verb, see §329.

sa no mayobhūh pīto (pitar) *āriśasta* (āriśta; MŚ *pītur āritśa*) TS TB.

AŚ. MŚ ŚG SMB. PG. *sa nah pīto madhumān ā viveśa* Kauś. Voc. with 2d person verb in all but MŚ. Kauś. in MŚ. nom with 3d person (equally consistent); in Kauś, however, if the text is right, we have voc with 3d person verb! See §69

madhvā yajñam nakṣatṛ (°se) *prīnānah* (prav°) AV VS TS. MS KS See § 329 KS is inconsistent

īmau vīryam (TB *rayim*) *yajamānāya dhātām* (TB *dhattam*) MS. TB. The 2d person of TB is inconsistent with its nom subject, *āśvīnā* (accented) The comm finds no difficulty in ignoring the accent and taking it as voc But in the next pāda occurs a parallel verb *rakṣatām*, with the same subject Even this does not disturb the comm, who calmly interprets it as if it were 2d person (*sarvato bhayāt pālayatam*) In truth, of course, it is rather *dhātām* which must be an error for 3d person *dhātām*

śarad dhemanah svile dadhāta (MŚ °tu) KS MŚ : *śarad varṣāḥ svitām* (ŚG *sukṛtām*) *no astu* (AV *svile no dadhāta*) AV TS ŚG. SMB In AV. KS the six season-names which precede are directly addressed in 2d person, tho they are nom in form, not voc Doubtless for this reason MŚ substitutes a 3d person, and since the 3d plural would not fit metrically, makes it singular, agreeing with the nearest of the six subjects, see § 355 The other texts dodge the difficulty by making *svitām* the subject of a copulative verb, *astu*

deveṣu nah sukṛto (VSK *deveṣu mā sukṛtam*) *brūtāt* (KS *brūta*, PB MŚ *brūyāt*) VSK TS KS PB MŚ *devebhyo mā sukṛtam brūtāt* (ŚB with ūha, voceh) VS ŚB *sukṛtam mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS A 2d person is required, and PB comm reads *brūtāt*, probably MŚ (in an unpublished part of the text) is likewise to be read *brūtāt*

videt (VS KS ŚB *videt*) *agnir* (VSK ŚBK *agner*, MS MŚ. *agne*) *nabho nāma* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ŚBK MŚ See Keith on TS 1. 2. 12. 1, note 2 The TS is inconsistent (2d person verb with nom subject) The others all rectify the syntax by one change or another

mā no dyāvāprthivī hīdṛṣethām MS *mā dyāvāprthivī hīdṛṣātām* TA In MS. as well as TA *dyāvāprthivī* is nom (accented), and the preceding parallel pāda is in the 3d person

akarat sūryavarcasam ApMB *akṛnoh sūryatvacam* RV AV. JB. *avakṛnot sūryatvacam* MG The subject, in the preceding pāda, is *indra* (voc) in all but MG, even ApMB 1. 19 reads so, despite 3d person verb, cf Winternitz, Introduction, p xvi And indeed even MG, tho it makes the subject nom, *indras*, to agree with the 3d

person verb, still retains the voc epithet *śatakrato* in pāda b, agreeing with it! Only RV. AV. JB are really grammatical
brahma tena punīhi nah (mā; *punātu mā, punīmahe*), *idam brahma punīmahe*, see §302.

(*abaddham mano* .) *dikṣe mā mā hāṣih* (KŚ. *hāṣit*, corrupt?) TS KŚ
 BDh : (*adabdhām cakṣur* .) *dikṣen mā mā hāṣit*. .MŚ The KŚ
 is inconsistent

§333. (c) In a very large number of other cases, while there is no inconsistency between the case of the subject and the person of the verb, we note more or less inconsistency between the person of the verb and the surrounding context, in one form of the variant (See §294) That is, for instance, in a passage containing several parallel verbs with the same subject, one is suddenly shifted from 2d to 3d person, or vice versa Or, a 3d person verb is found when in an adjoining passage direct address to the subject is indicated by a 2d person pronoun, or the like The result is a more or less harsh anacolouthon This condition is not by any means always secondary, indeed, it happens very frequently that the anacolouthic syntax appears to characterize the older form of the variant, and a later text smoothes it out by a change of person in one verb

§334. In half a dozen cases, however, of verbs of which Soma is the subject, and which in the RV are third person, and occur in the context of other (parallel) third-person expressions, the SV. changes the 3d person to 2d, producing a direct address to Soma which is inconsistent with the context (cf. above §§295, 328):

adhī triprṣṭha uṣaso vi rājati (SV. °*si*) RV SV. The subject, soma, is spoken of in the 3d person in the preceding even in SV.

āprchyam dharunam vājy arṣati (SV. °*si*) RV. SV. The subject, soma, is referred to in the 3d person in the prec pāda

punāno vāram pary ety (SV. *vāram aly eṣy*) *aryayam* RV. SV. ApŚ
 The subject, soma, is referred to in 3d person in the 1st half of the same verse

viśvā yad rūpā pariṇīty (SV. °*sy*) *ṛkvaḥh* RV SV. Otherwise 3d person in the verse.

vr̥thā pāyānsi kṛnute (SV. °*se*) *nadīṣv ā* (RV.† once omits *ā*) RV. (bis)
 SV. Otherwise 3d persons in the verse

arṣan (SV. *arṣā*) *mītrasya varunasya dharmanā* RV SV Parallel verb
 in the preceding is 3d person in both.

§335. In two cases, however, the reverse change takes place in SV in verbs of which Soma is the subject, there are special reasons for both

vr̥ṣo acikradad vane SV. 2. 430b, 480b: *vr̥ṣāva cakradad* (9. 107. 22b *cakrado*) *vane* RV. 9. 7 3b, 9. 107 22b In SV 2 430b = RV. 9. 107 22b Soma is addressed in the latter part of the stanza, yet he is here referred to in the 3d person in SV., probably under the influence of the parallel passage 2 480b = RV 9 7. 3b. which has 3d person in both texts

pr̥ṣtheṣv erayā (SV. *airayad*) *raym* RV SV Here RV is inconsistent; the subject, Soma, is the subject of a 3d person verb in the next pāda. In SV. this is smoothed out

§336. We may note that it is only Soma for which SV. seems to feel this urge towards direct address, e g, in the following, where the Maruts are the subject, SV changes secondarily a 2d person address to a 3d person reference, despite direct address to the Maruts in the preceding: *viśve pibata* (SV. *pībantu*) *lāminah* RV SV

§337. The long list of remaining cases is as follows

yat sānoh sānum āruhat (SV *sānv āruhak*) RV SV The subject is Indra, who is otherwise spoken of in the 3d person even in SV.; the next pāda is *bhūry aspaṣṭa kartvam* 'When he (Indra) mounted from peak to peak and beheld much labor' A 2d person verb here is intolerably harsh, one is tempted to guess that SV felt *āruhak* as a verbal noun, dependent on *aspaṣṭa* (I). This would perhaps be no worse than other forms of which SV is guilty But probably it merely shifts to direct address to Indra, see § 294

yena bhūyaś (PG *bhūrīś*) *carāty ayam* (AG *ca rātryam*, MG. *caraty ayam*, PG. *carā divam*), *ṛyok ca paśyāt* (PG °*si*, MG °*yati*) *sūryam* (MG. °*yah*) AG PG. ApMB MG The subject is the boy in the shaving rite (except that MG. makes it *sūryah* in the 2d pāda; perhaps also in the first? doubtful), he is address in the 2d person in the rest of the verse in AG PG MG, spoken of in the 3d in ApMB As to persons, PG and ApMB are consistent; AG flagrantly inconsistent, MG. patches together a makeshift reading, keeping 3d person but changing the subject

yajñasya yuktan dhuryā (TB ApŚ °*yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS. °*thām*) and (in same verse) *div* (KS *dve*) *ṛyotir ajaram* (MS KS *ullamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS KS. °*thām*) MS KS † TB ApŚ. In prec pāda both MS. and KS have the 3d person *gachātām*, both are therefore inconsistent On *abhūtām* (middle!) see §§21, 56

antaś carati (MahānU PrānūgU. °*si*) *bhūteṣu* TA. TAA. MahānU. PrānūgU. L VyāsaDh ŚaṅkhaDh The subject (*paramātmā*, TA. comm) is address in the second person in the 2d half of the verse

samprīyah paśubhūr bhava (TB ApŚ *bhūwat*) MS TB ApŚ. *samprīyam prajāyā paśubhūr bhūwat* TA The subject (Agni) is referred to in the 3d person even in MS in the preceding

viśvo (TS *viśve*) *rāya iśudhyati* (TS °*st*) RV VS TS. MS KS ŚB. Both variations in TS are corrupt, see Keith (p 21, n. 3), who translates the RV reading As K remarks, the 2d person is apparently intended to match *puṣyase* in the next line, but this is an infinitive, not a finite form

mā no hrñtām atithr (SV *hrñtāh atithim*) *vasur agnih* RV SV The subject can only be Agni in SV, which seems to understand the last two words as a separate sentence 'Be not ashamed of our guest (O Agni!), Agni is good'

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS ŚB 'dhvara āsthāt, KS 'dhvare sthāh, ApŚ *adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ 'The offering has stood upright', or (KS) 'thou (Agni) hast stood upright at the offering', or (ApŚ) 'he (Agni, who is directly address in both the preceding and following) has stood' etc Caland assumes 'sthāh' as the true reading of ApŚ

sā nah payasvati duhām (TS PG *dhukṣva*, MS *duhe*, SMB *duhā*?) RV AV TS MS KS SMB PG The subject (*ekāstakā*) is spoken of in the 3d person in the 1st half of the same verse even in TS PG, which here address it directly For the doubtful reading of MS SMB see §104, b

subheṣajam yathāsatī (AV °*st*, LŚ *yathāsat*) AV TS MS KS LŚ Different contexts, but, as Whitney remarks ad loc, the 3d person would suit better in AV

tat satyam yad vīram bibhṛthah (MŚ † °*iah*), *vīram janayīṣyathah* (MŚ °*iah*), *te mat prātah prajānayanīṣyethe* (MŚ °*ie*), *te mā prajāte prajānayanīṣyathah* (MŚ °*iah prajāyā paśubhūh*) TB ApŚ MŚ Preceded, even in MŚ, by a direct address in 2d person

(*indrāś ca nah śunāsīrāv*) *imam yajñam mīmikṣatam* (ŚŚ °*ām*) TB ŚŚ Followed by *garbhani* (ŚŚ °*ān*) *dhattam svastaye*, so that ŚŚ is inconsistent Its reading is evidently a reminiscence of the form of the pāda which occurs elsewhere, in a different context, with *mīmikṣatām*; see §341

arākṣasā manasā taj juṣeta (TS MS *juṣasva*, KS *juṣethāh*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB See §160 In the following 2 pādas Agni is referred to in 3d person

imam yajñam abhi grñta viśve RV VS °*idam no havir abhi grñantu viśve* AV The subject is the *putrs*, who are address in the next line in the 2d person even in AV, and AV comm reads *grñta* here

nātārīd (TB °rīr) *asya samṛtīm vadhānām* (TB ba°) RV. TB The parallel verbs are all 3d person, TB. comm. glosses *na prāplavān naśīdan no apa durmatīm jahī* (TS. *hanat*) VS. TS MS KS ŚB The subject is understood as Agni The first part of the verse refers to him in 3d person and is directly address to plants, the majority of the texts change to a 2d person address to Agni, while TS. alone, more consistently but presumably secondarily, continues the indirect reference

parāvata ā jaganthā (AV. *jagamyāti*, TS *jagāmā*) *parasyāh* RV. AV. SV. VS MS KS. Subject Indra, who in the following is address in 2d person in all

pīlarah pīlāmahāh pare 'vare tatās tatāmahā iha māvata (PG. *māvantu*) TS PG. The last of a series of similar formulas, the preceding ones are 3d person in both texts

purā grāhrād araruṣah pibālah (TB. *pībālah*) RV. MS TB In the following TB also has 3d person verb

prādāh (SMB *prādāt*) *pitṛbhyah svadhayā te akṣan* RV. AV. VS TS. ApŚ. SMB Subject Agni, address in 2d person thruout the verse in most texts, but in SMB only in the last pāda; in this (the 3d) pāda, and in the 1st (which is a different one from that of the other texts), it has 3d person forms, in the 2d pāda the form is ambiguous (either 2d or 3d).

mā mā hīnsī (VS † KS ŚB *hīnsīh*) VS TS KS ŚB. TB. ApŚ Prec. by *mā tvā hīnsī* (KS *ms hīnsīh*) In the Tait. school texts the verb-form is mechanically assimilated to the preceding, just as in the one *ms* of KS the form of the prec verb is assimilated to the following (properly emended by von Schroeder, since the object *tvā* makes 2d person verb obviously impossible) Subject *ṛṣṇājina* (Mahīdhara on VS).

yathā jyok sumanā asāh (HG *asa*) ApMB HG The prec formula addresses the boy in 2d person even in HG.

yad ārdhvas hīthā (KS °hād) *dravneha dhattāi* RV. MS KS AB. TB. N. In KS inconsistent with context, see §24

vākpā vācam me pāhu (MS *pātu*) TS MS AB AŚ And the same with *śrotapāh śrotam*, *caṣṣpāh* etc *vākpāh* is nom, which makes 3d person at least easier, and the prec is a 3d person statement in TS.

vīśvasmā id iśudhyate (TB °se) RV. TB Followed by

devatrā havyam ūhṣe (RV. *ohṣe* and *ohre*) RV. (bis) SV TB On the relation of the RV forms see *RVRep* 131f The SV. occurrences repeat RV 8 19 1 (which has *ohre*) but seem influenced by RV.

- 1 128 6 (*ohiṣe*) TB repeats RV 1 128 6 but makes it more natural, *ohiṣc* (p p *ā ūhiṣe*) is surrounded by 3d person verbs referring to the same subject (Agni), so that attempts have even been made to explain *ohiṣe* as an infinitive (see *RVRep.* loc cit, and Oldenberg's *RVNoten* ad loc) In TB the whole passage is made a direct address to Agni—a much easier reading
- śarma varūtham āsadaṣvāh* (TS *āsadaḥ suvāh*) VS TS MS KS SB In TS the verb is assimilated to the person of the 2d half-verse, where Agni is directly address in all. Tho more consistent, it is doubtless secondary
- jayanta upaspr̥ṣatu* HG : *jayantopa spr̥ṣa* ApMB Only HG. is consistent with parallel formulas in the context, which even in ApMB, are 3d person
- upasadyo namasyo yathāsal* (AV *bhaveha*) AV TS MS. Subject is a king, equated with Indra, in 1st half verse all texts refer to him in 3d person, here AV changes to direct address (AV 3 4 1 has the same pāda in a different context.)
- anu* (AV **prah*) *dyāvāprthivī ā tatantha* (AV **viveṣa*, AV *TS *TB *talāna*) RV AV VS TS MS KS SB TB Occurs in two different verses; one (A) is address to Soma, with verbs in 2d person, the other (B) refers to Agni, with verbs in 3d person Only A occurs in RV, only B in AV TB, both occur in VS TS MS KS, but VS MS KS read in B the 2d person form taken from, and appropriate to, A, while only TS keeps the distinct forms appropriate to each
- andhena yat* (TA *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāṣīt* (TA **āṣi*) AV TA. The subject (acc to both comms a cow, but see Whitney's note on AV 18 3 3) is referred to in the 1st half verse in 3d person in both texts
- āṣta* (MS KS *āṣthāh*) *pratiṣthām avidad dhi* (MS *avido hi*, KS *avido nu*) *gādham* TS MS KS PG So the Conc The subject, *Viśvavedas*, is referred to in the prec pāda in the 3d person in TS KS (while in MS he is directly address) If, as we believe, the Conc presents the true text of KS, it alone of the texts is inconsistent with its surroundings The matter is, however, not certain The single ms of KS is quoted as reading *āṣlāh* and *avide*, which seem most likely to represent *āṣthāh* and *avido*, but von Schroeder (doubtless for the sake of consistency with the context) emends, overboldly as it seems, to *āṣta* and *avidan*
- ganān me mā vi tīlṛṣah* (MŚ **sat*) TS MŚ 'Do not (let him not) make my troops thirsty' Only the 2d person is proper, referring to Indra,

to whom the whole verse is address. Knauer on MŚ. 2 4 1. 35b defends °ṣat of all his mss by supposing it to refer to Vāyu, understood. In the same context. *ganān me mā vy arīṣaḥ* Vait In different contexts: *ganā me mā vī tṛṣan* VS. TB ŚB., *ganair mā mā vī tṛṣata* MS. 'Let not my troops be thirsty' or 'make me not thirsty with my troops', shift between causative and simple verbs, with consequent inversion of subject and object

abhi no vīro arvati kṣameta RV. TB : *tvam no vīro arvati kṣamethāh* AB. In a repetition of the RV. stanza, in which the subject (Rudra) is address with 2d person verbs in the preceding pādas, AB makes this pāda consistent with them

ā yantu pītarō manojavasah ApŚ *eta pītarō manojavāh*, and: *āganta pītarō manojavāh* MŚ. (in same sūtra) *paretana* (TS KS ApŚ *pareta*) *pītarah somyāsah* (TS. ApŚ *somyāh*) TS MS KS AŚ. MŚ. ApŚ (in different context from the above in ApŚ, but in the same context, separated by one sūtra, from *eta* etc in MŚ, in the next sūtra but one MŚ has a 3d person reference to the same subject, *śundhantām pītarah*, thus shifting from 2d to 3d person)

ṛtūr (TB *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaj jāyate punah* (AV *jāyase navah*) RV AV. MS TB Preceded by the correlate *viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣte* (so AV., the others similarly). Said of the sun and moon respectively The change to direct address in AV. is harsh and is pretty surely a mere corruption; the comm reads *jāyate*

lena mā saha śundhata (AV *śumbhantu*) RV AV The waters seem to be addressed in RV; they are referred to in 3d person in the preceding The AV. reading is uncertain, SPP adopts *śumbhatu*, and so Whitney's Translation, see §360

dvo jyote (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva āditya . āśuvadhvam* KS *devajūte vivasvann āditya . āśuvadhvam* MS : *vivasvān aditir devajūtis vyantu* TS Two parallel pādas preceding have *vyantu* with nom subject in MS KS also

yo devānām carasi prānathena VS MS. KS ŚB *devānām yaś carati prā* TS Here, paradoxically, it is the 2d person of most texts which is inconsistent with the 2d (not 3d) person verb of the preceding line, for the subjects of the two must be different, being masc and fem respectively Doubtless this is the reason for TS's change to 3d person here, and for its further change in the next pāda (*devi* for *deva*), which makes the entire stanza address to the feminine entity mentioned in the first half. TS is, of course, secondary *yasmād bhīta udavāṣīṣta* (and, *udaveṣīṣta*) MŚ : *yasmād bhīṣāvāṣīṣthāh*

(and, *bhīṣāvepiṣṭhāh*) TB ŚŚ ApŚ Surrounding and parallel formulas (address to the animal victim) are 2d person even in MŚ

aśvināv eha gachatām (TS TB ^ī*am*) RV TS TB. N *aśvināv* is voc in TS TB, *aśvināv* nom in RV. The same pāda with ^ī*am* (and *aśvināv*) in RV. and other texts, in a direct address to the Aśvins, who are here (in RV) referred to in the 3d person, the stanza being address to a priest (the *adhvaryu* according to comm on RV, the *hotar* according to that on TB). The preceding pāda in TB as well as RV. is: *prātaryujā* (= *aśvinau*) *vi bodhaya*. TS. changes this to ^ī*yujau vi mucyethām*, making it also a direct address to the Aśvins. TB is inconsistent in that the first pāda is address to a priest and refers to the Aśvins in 3d person, while the second addresses them directly. TS by its further change in the first pāda restores consistency. No doubt the 2d person form of the second pāda is due to influence of the other form of the variant with *gachatām*, in a different stanza in RV

īyaty agra āsīt (KS TA ApŚ *āsīt*) VS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ In two different stanzas (used in similar connexions), one in KS ApŚ, the other in the remaining texts. The KS ApŚ stanza is consistent in the 2d person, according to ApŚ address partly to a lump of earth, partly to pebbles. The other stanza likewise refers to a lump of earth, which is address directly in the next pāda in MS at any rate (with vocative *devī*), and according to Mahidhara also in VS, M thus interprets the pronoun *te*, as referring to the earth, with *āsīt* Mahidhara supplies *bhavati*, taking the whole as direct address. There is, then, inconsistency between the two pādas in VS MS. In TA, which has the same context as VS MS, this inconsistency is removed by changing *āsīt* into a 2d person

īsam lokāya no dadhat (KS *dadhat*) RV SV KS., and AVPpp in its version of AV 7 20 2, see Whitney's note on this. The RV SV passage is not pertinent since *dadhat* is a participle; the context is different. But both KS and AVPpp have finite verb forms, the stanza in them is otherwise a direct address, and AVPpp is therefore inconsistent. In both the next pāda reads.

pra na (MS *na*) *āyūṁṣi tāriṣah* (AVPpp MŚ KS mss. ^ī*sat*) AVPpp VS. TS KS ŚŚ N. See preceding. (In all but AVPpp KS MS the preceding pāda is different.) This pāda, with *tāriṣat*, is found repeatedly in other contexts (see Conc.), in most of which the 3d person is appropriate. Doubtless the reading with *tāriṣat* here

- (and probably in AV. 4. 10. 6e, where a 2d person also seems, required) is due to contamination with that form of the phrase.
- rdhag ayā* (TS. MS. KS. *ayād*) *rdhag utāśamiṣṭhāh* (MS. KS. **śamiṣṭa*) VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB N.: *dhruvam ayā dhruvam utāśamiṣṭhāh* RV.: *dhruvam ayo dhruvam utā śamiṣṭha* AV. The forms *ayā(s)* and *ayād* are both 2d persons; but because the latter looks more like a 3d person, MS. KS. secondarily make the following verb 3d person, despite direct address in the preceding and following pādas. On the corrupt version of AV. see Whitney on 7. 97. 1.
- citrebhur abhraiṛ upa tiṣṭatho* (MS. **to*) *ravam* RV.† MS. Followed by: *dyām varṣayatho* (MS **to*) *asuraśya māyayā* RV. MS The preceding pādas speak of the subject (*mitrāvarunau*) in the 3d person; hence the change to 3d person in MS, which makes the syntax smoother. Nevertheless MS p.p. reads *varṣayathah*.
- dhartā dwo rajaso vibhātī dhartā* (TA. *dwo vibhāsi rajasaḥ*; VS. ŚB. *divo vibhātī tapasas prthivyām*) VS. MS. ŚB TA. The context has a parallel verb *yacha*.
- dhruvaidhi poṣyā* (PG **ye*) *mayi* RVKh ŚG. PG. ApMB.: *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV. The AV. is inconsistent, for the woman referred to by *iyam* is addressed in 2d person in the rest of the stanza.
- aredatā (ahe*, see §160) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ *gamyāt*) MS. KS. ApŚ. Parallel verbs are 3d person in all.
- januṣṭa* (TS **śvā*, MS **śva*) *hi jenyō agre ahnām* RV. TS. MS. KS The subject is Agni, referred to in 3d person by all in the sequel.
- pratiṣṭhām gacha* (GB *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB **yel*) AB. GB Direct address in the preceding in both Gaastra considers GB corrupt
- marya iva yuvatībhiḥ sam arṣati* (AV. *iva yoṣāḥ sam arṣase*) RV. SV. AV. Parallel verbs in the preceding are 3d person in all
- namo viśvakarmaṇe sa u pātv asmān* TS. MŚ: *viśvakarman namas te pāty asmān* AV. Preceding parallel is 3d person in AV.
- muñcatu* (KS. *muñcemam*) *yajñam* (ApŚ. *yajño*; KS adds *muñca*) *yajñapāṭim anhasaḥ svāhā* MS. KS. ApŚ 3d person forms are used in parallel formulas in KS
- meṣa va vai sam ca vi corv acyase* AV.: *meṣa iva yad upa ca vi ca carvati* (ApŚ. erroneously, *carvari*) KS. ApŚ 3d person forms in the rest of AV.; but the stanza is very obscure.
- vaptā* (ApMB. *vaptā*; HG MG. *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG **ti*) *keśaśmaśru* (AG. PG. MG. *keśān*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG MG. The fourth pāda has 2d person verb in all; the 3d person of PG. is evidently due

to the nom *vaptā*, felt as subject, tho in the original form (AV) it is merely appositional to the subject. Note that HG MG also feel this as inconsistent, and try to smooth out the syntax by the converse change of *vaptā* to voc *vaptar*; while ApMB has an instrumental *vaptirā*.

sam gachatām (RV * *gachasva*) *tanvā* (TA *tanuvā*) *suvarcāh* (RV * TA *jātavedah*) RV (bis) AV (bis) TA. In AV 18 3 58 is repeated RV 10 14 8, with change in this pāda of *gachasva* to *gachatām*, which is inconsistent with the rest of the stanza in which the dead man is directly address. The change is obviously due to the influence of the very similar pāda RV 10 16 5d = AV 18 2 10d (this also in TA), which has, consistently, *gachatām*. Note that conversely AV substitutes *suvarcāh* of 18 3 58d = RV 10 14 8d for *jātavedah* of RV 10 16 5d, thus making the two pādas exactly alike.

sam (ApMB *śam*) *ūdho romaśam hatah* (ApMB *hathah*) RV ApMB. See Winternitz, p xx of ApMB Introduction, *hathah* is senseless. *sarvam tad asmān mā hnsih* (HG *hnsil*) ApŚ HG. Parallel verbs are 3d person, there is no doubt of the inferiority of ApŚ, which Caland translates by a 3d person.

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmraṣyam gacha* (VSK *gachatāt*; MŚ *gachet*) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ. The subject is Soma, who is address directly in the preceding formulas.

trīn samudrān samasrpat svargān (MS °*gah*) VS MS ŚB *samsarpa* (KS °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ *svargānl lokān*) KS ApŚ. The subject is address in 2d person (*gacha*) in the last part of the stanza in all, and ApŚ, secondarily no doubt, makes *samsarpa* consistent with this. Mahidhara on VS understands even *samasrpat* as direct address (*he kūrma yo bhavān . . samasrpat*), but the only express subject is nom in all (*apām patir vṛṣabha iṣṭakānām*).

viśvā īdēva prītanā abhiṣya TB ApŚ HG *viśvās ca deva* (PG *devah*) *prītanā abhiṣydh* (PG † °*syak*) KS PG 'O god (let the god) annihilate all the hosts' *abhiṣyak* for *abhiṣyat*, 3d sing injunctive, see Stenzler's Critical Note on PG 3 1 3b. The 'god' is Agni, who is address directly in the preceding pāda even in PG (*sviṣṭam agne abhi tat prāhi*).

§338. (d) We come next to a group of variants in which the change of person is due to a change of subject, while the general context remains essentially the same. Thus *tiro mā santam āyur mā pra hāsī* (AŚ *santam mā pra hāsīh*) TB. AŚ.

ApŚ . *tro me yajña āyur mā pra hāṣih* (one ms *hāṣit*) MŚ † The subject of the 2d person forms is Agni, who is addrest in the prec.; that of the 3d persons is *āyuh*.

kāmam (AV PB. *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā vīśa* (AV *viveśa*; KS PB *vīśat*) AV KS PB TB. TA AŚ ApŚ. 'Desire has entered the ocean' or the like, 'enter thou the ocean (of) desire' (TA comm : *he dakṣine samudrasamam kāmam pravīśa*)

ūrdhvo adhvaro aṣṭhāt etc , see §337

ahar no atyapīparat MahānU SMB ahar mātīyapīparah AV. 'The day has brought us across': 'thou (sun) hast brought me across the day.'

pra yam rāye nināśasi RV . *pra yo rāye nināśati* N. 'Whom thou (Agni) wilt lead to wealth' . 'who will lead (thee, Agni) to wealth'

mā hīnśih puruṣam jagat VS TS MS KS ŚvetU. *mā hīnśit puruṣān mama NīlarU*. The entire verse is addrest to Rudra, who is the grammatical subject of this verb except in NīlarU, where the subject is his weapon

rarātam ud va vidhyah (HG °s) HG ApMB. Prec by *yat ta etan mukhe* 'matam (HG *matam*) 'If thou shootest up this thought in thy face' . 'if this bad thought shoots up'

devi vāg yat te vāco tasmin mā dhāh (KB ŚŚ *no adya dhāt*) TS KB GB PB JB AŚ ŚŚ. Vait KŚ The subject in KB. ŚŚ. is Vācaspati, mentioned in the prec

vācaspatē 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā dvi devāvrdham (ŚŚ erroneously, *devā vrdhan*) *hotrām arayat* (KŚ. *arayant*, TA *erayasva*, ŚŚ *arayasva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ. omits) ŚB TA ŚŚ KŚ The passage is troublesome, see Eggeling's note in SBE. 44 122 Śāyana interprets *arayat* as equivalent to a 2d person, and refers the whole passage to Vācaspati, if he is right, this variant would belong with those listed in §332. But Eggeling translates *arayat* as a 3d person, referring, apparently, to the *yajamāna*; the formula is used under certain conditions at his consecration (*ākṣā*); and this seems likely to be correct The 2d person form of the variant is, of course, addrest to Vācaspati.

yo devayānah panthās tena yajño devān apy etu (KS. *tena devān gacha*) TS KS Subject in KS is *idā*.

āyur dātra edh VS ŚB ŚŚ.: *mayo dātre bhūyāt* MS . *vayo dātre* (VSK. *dātra edh*; KS. PB *dātre bhūyān*) *mayo mahyam* (TB TA ApŚ *mahyam astu*) *pratgrahitre* VSK. KS PB TB. TA. ApŚ. 'Be thou (potency addrest) life (or the like) to the giver' etc , or, 'may there

be strength (or the like) to the giver' etc. The meaning, of course, is virtually the same. Cf. next

śāntir no astu MS *śāntir me astu śāntih* TA : *sā mā śāntir edhi* VS Mahidhara on VS. *mā, mām prah, edhi, astu, puruṣavyatyayah* (text by error, *vyatyamah*). But this is, of course, a pedantic and unnecessary assumption; the 2d person is of the same sort as in the preceding variant

dyaur nah pitā pitryūc (TA. *pitryūc*) *cham bhavāti* (TA °*si*) AV TA In AV the subject is *dyaur*, in TA the comm takes it as the *yajamāna*, no doubt correctly, but the entire stanza is obscure

viśvasma bhūlāyādhuvaro 'si (ApŚ. °*ro astu devāh*, KS MŚ *bhūlāya dhuwo astu devāh*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ The subject in TS is Soma, in the others *yajña*; all refer to *yajña* in the 3d person in the preceding.

sūryam (TA adds *te*) *caṣṣur gachatu* (AV *caṣṣuṣā gacha*) *vātam ātmā* (AV *ātmanā*) RV AV. TA 'Let thy eye go (or, go with thy eye) to the sun' etc In the following *pādas* the dead man is addressed with *gacha* in all, AV. makes this *pāda* consistent with them, but the others are not syntactically inconsistent, since *caṣṣuḥ* is the grammatical subject in them

sūryasya rasmīn anv ātatāna (MŚ. *ātatantha*) TB. AŚ ApŚ MŚ. Preceded by *yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam* (*prahutam, nihutam*) *padam hi te* In MŚ the subject is Agni, in the others, his *padam*

sviṣṭakṛd indrāya devebhyo bhava MS KS ApŚ *sviṣṭakṛd devebhyā indra āryena haviṣā bhūt svāhā* VS ŚB. The subject in most texts is Agni, in VS. ŚB it is (obviously secondarily) changed to Indra

samyag āyur yajño (MŚ † *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ. *dhāh*) KS. MŚ. See §158

yat te krīram tat te sudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat te etena sundhatām*, MS. *tad etena sundhasva*) VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ 'Let that of thee become pure (by this)', or, 'as to that become thou pure by this'

§339. We think it unnecessary to list here cases in which the change of person accompanies, and is conditioned by, a shift of voice, as between active and middle or passive, such a shift naturally involves very often a change of person, and the instances can easily be found from the lists in §§30, 83 ff., to these should be added the variant: *tās tvā devīr* (*devyo*) *jarase* (°*sā*) *sam vyayanū* (*vyayasva*), §70

§340. For cases of this sort in which there is a change of number as well as person, see §365, and for a couple of cases in which a 2d person singular of direct address varies with an indefinite 3d plural, see §360

§341. (e) We come now to cases in which the 2d and 3d persons appear in different contexts, with different subjects, each appropriate and consistent. We may begin with a pāda which occurs in the RV. itself in no less than four different verses

asmākam edhy avitā rathānām (AV *tanūnām*) RV. AV. SV. VŚ. TS MS. KS : *asmākam bodhy av° ra°* RV · *as° bodhy av° tanūnām* RV. MS TB TA MahānU · *as° bhūtv av° ta°* RV. AV TA. The last, with its anomalous form *bhūtv*, is obviously a secondary adaptation to a new context with change of person

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB : *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG † (corrupt, read as ApMB, as Kirste and Oldenberg both assume): *adho vadādharo vada* HG The last, which is the only genuine variant, is a conscious imitation of the other, with change of person to suit different context

te devāso (TS *devā*) *yañnam imam juṣadhvam* (AV *juṣantām*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB . *te devāso havir idam juṣadhvam* AV It is the last-quoted form of AV. which appears in the same context with the others; AV 7. 28 1, which reads *juṣantām*, is in a wholly different context.

trptā mā tarpayata (MG. *mām tarpayantu*) KS MG Contexts only vaguely similar.

anlās carasy (MS °ly) *arnave* AV MS Different contexts

adhaspadam kṛnutām (AV.* *kṛnuṣva*; TS. *kṛnute*) *ye pṛtanyavah* AV. (bis) VS TS, MS. KS ŚB.

bodhāt stomas vayo dadhat MS.. *bodhā stotre vayo dadhat* (ApŚ *vayov-dhah*) RV. SV ApŚ See §§24, 153 The contexts are different, and MS. is interpretable as it stands but it has a v 1. *bodhā*

mā nah prajāṃ rīriṣo (TB. 3 1 1. 3 *rīriṣan*) *mota vīrān* RV VS ŚB TB (bis). TA TAA. ApŚ SMB. HG. MG N One case in TB. uses the pāda in a quite different context, found nowhere else, the person of the verb is consistent with its surroundings

san me bhūyāh (Kaus. °yāt) TS MS KS. AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ Kaus Different contexts.

sameddhāram anhasa uruṣyāt (ŚŚ *anhasah pāhu*) RV. ŚŚ

yathāsthānam kalpanām (ApŚ *kalpayadhvam*) ŚB. BṛhU ApŚ *yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva* AV. *yathāsthānam dhāyantām ihaiva* ŚŚ Hardly comparable See §241.

āyur no dehi jīvasa ŚG. cf. *āyus te* (Aṅg. *āyur no*) *viśvato dadhat* AV etc Hardly comparable.

nyañn uttānām anv eti (and, eṣi) *bhūmim* RV. (both) Subjects Indra: Agni.

- agnī raīśānei sedhati* RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ MS Kauś.
apa ra° sedhasi (PrānāgU. *cāta, ja*) AV. PrānāgU.
jeṣaḥ (and, *jeṣat, aṣaḥ*) *erratur apah* RV. (all). Indra is the subject
 each time, but the contexts are different. See RVRep. 39. *aṣaḥ*
 is 2d person. The original is *jeṣaḥ*, RV. 1 10 8
abhy arṣanti (and, *arṣati*) *susṣutim* RV. (both): *abhy arṣata susṣu-*
ṣayam ājīm RV. VS KS. ApŚ. The addition in the latter indi-
 cates that it is secondary; but it is consistent with its context
āsmā bharaṭu nas (AV. *te*) *tanūh* RV. AV. VS. TS MS KSA. *āsmā*
itam s'hira (MG. ApMB * *sthiro*) *bhara* AG. ŚG SMB. PG. ApMB
 HG. MG. Cf. also *āsmā bhara paraśur bhara*; see Conc. The AV.
 context is related to that of the GS texts, and Ppp. reads *āsmā*
itam sthiro bhara; the vulgate AV. has an interesting contamination
 with the fundamentally unrelated passage of RV. etc
ā barhiḥ śidatām sumat RV.: *śidatām barhiḥ ā sumat* RV. Subjects
 Aśvins: Night and Dawn.
ado giriḥyo adhi yat pradhārasi TB.: *ado yaḍ aradhārati* AV.: *amī ye le*
sarasyakā aradhārati HG. ApMB. (see Winternitz, Introduction,
 p. xxvi; he supposes that *aradhārata* is intended, while Kirste and
 Oldenberg assume *aradhāranti* for HG.): *asau yo 'casarpati* VS. TS
 MS. KS. Four different contexts with different subjects.
imān yaṣṇān mimikṣatām (TB. *°tam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB TB ŚB
 ŚŚ. LŚ. Quite different context in TB. ŚŚ from the others, see
 §337.
juṣetkām (and, *°tām*) *yaṣṇām iṣṭaye* RV. In three different contexts,
 two with direct address, one 3d person; different subjects each
 time
punar no naṣṭam ākr̥dhi (RV. AV. *ajatu*) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS
 MŚ.
yat sīm āgaṣ cakr̥mā tat su mṛdatu (and, *mṛḍa*) RV. (both).
riśam ā bhāsi (RV. * *bhāti*) *rocanaṁ* (AV. * *rocana*) RV. (tris) AV. (bis)
 ArŚ. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. Subjects Uṣas, Sūrya, and
 Indra.
riśā adhi śriyo dadhe RV.: . . . *'dhita* RV. KS. TB : . *dhiṣe* RV.
riśe devāa iha vīrayadhram (AV. *mādayadhram*; VS ŚB Vait. LŚ
mādayantām) RV. AV. VS. TS. ŚB. Vait LŚ ApMB : *riśe devā*
iha mādayantām (KS. *vīrayadhram*) TS KS TB Two different
 contexts, with appropriate persons of verbs in each.
sām sūryena rocate RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA : . . . *rocass* RV. AV. Subjects
 Soma Pavamāna: Uṣas.

vi mucyantām usriyāh VS. ŚB · *vi mucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA ApŚ. *aghnyā*) *devayānāh* VS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ. Hardly variants of each other.

sa cakārārasam viṣam AV · *sā cakarhārasam viṣam* AV

sajātānām asad (AV *aso*) *vaśi* AV. (both) VS TS. MS KS.

sadyo jajñāno havyo babhūtha (and, *babhūva*) RV. (both) Subjects Agni· Indra.

sa viśvā bhūva ābhavaḥ RV AV *sa viśvā bhuvo* (AV *sa idam viśvam*) *ābhavat sa ābhavat* AV TS TB

stṛnanti (RV * *stṛṇāta*) *barhiṣ ānuṣaḥ* RV (both) SV VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ N ·

viṣe viṣam aprkthāh (and, *apṛāg api*) AV (both)

madhu tvā (AV *me*) *madhulā karoti* (AV *karaḥ*, RV *cakāra*, MS *kṛnotu*) RV AV. MS TA ApŚ

sa no vasūṇy ā bhara (SV *bharāt*) RV SV. AV VS TS MS KS Different context in SV

aviṣam naḥ pitum kṛnu (KS *kṛdhi*, TB ApŚ *karat*) VS 2 20 (omitted in Conc) TS KS. ŚB TB. ApŚ In the last two texts the context is different

For other cases in which there is a change of number as well as person, see §371

§342. (f) Finally, some instances which include either gross corruptions or errors of various kinds Others, involving number as well as person, will be found below, §372

ihaiṣa kṣemya edhi mā prahāsīr mām amum (ApŚ. *prahāsīn māmum*) *āmuṣyāyanam* (AŚ *mā prahāsīr amum māmūṣyāyanam*) MS AŚ ApŚ MŚ The true reading of ApŚ. can hardly be anything but *prahāsīr*, as Caland assumes

yatra-yatra jātavedāḥ sambabhūtha (TB °*bhūva*; but Poona ed text and comm correctly °*tha*) TB ApŚ *yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS *bībhṛato*) *jātavedāḥ* AV KS See §262, f

saṃjñānāneṣu vai brūyāt AB · *saṃjñānāneṣu vai brūyāh* ŚŚ Several mss of ŚŚ. read *brūyāt* But Aufrecht 387, conjectures *brūyāh* for AB, and this is approved by Keith, *HOS* 25 307, who so translates *mā tvā vṛkṣaḥ* (TA *vṛkṣau*) *saṃ bādhiṣta* (TA once °*iām*, once *bādhetthām*) AV TA The form *bādhetthām* can hardly be anything but a corruption for °*iām*, *vṛkṣau* is accented, and a 3d person is required; comm *sambādhitam mā kūrutām* But perhaps this might be placed in §332

aśrīram (TB.† *aśhīram*) *cit krnuhā supratākam* RV. AV. TB. Conc. quotes *krnuyāt* for TB.; Bibl. Ind ed. reads in fact *krnuhāt*, but its comm. and Poona ed. text have the correct *krnuhā*
teṣām yo ayyānīm (PG. 'jyā°) *ajītim ā vahāt* (SMB Conc *ajītim āvahāt*, but Jorgensen as the others) TS SMB. PG BDh.
nivarto yo ny avīrtat (HG. *avīrdhāt*) ApMB HG. The HG. form is corrupt, Oldenberg adopts *avīrtat*.
madhye poṣasya tṛmpatām (MG. *puṣyatām*) ŚG MG : *madhye poṣasva tṛṣhantām* AG. For *poṣasva* read *poṣasya* (Stenzler, Transl)
yamasya loke adhurajjur āyat (TA *āya*; MS. *loke nadhr ajarōya*) AV. MS. TA. See §153 TA is probably corrupt, MS is still worse.
adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB : *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG. The latter is corrupt and must be read as ApMB, see §153.
barhi (*barhūh*) *strnāhi* (TS MS MŚ. ApŚ * *strnāhi*) TS MŚ. GB ŚB Vait. KŚ ApŚ. MŚ The text of MS. reads *strnāti*, presumably by misprint.
nir ā yachasi madhyame AV ŚŚ. The vulgate of AV. reads *yachati*, by Roth's emendation

B VARIANTS CONCERNING NUMBER

§343. We have explained above (§§289-301, especially 301) the principles of classification adopted for the Number variants, and quoted examples of the principal types. We now proceed to give the lists in full, beginning with—

1. First Person Singular and Plural, referring to the priests and their associates

§344. In many—possibly even in most—of these (see §290) the first person plural is only formally plural, and actually refers to a single person, the speaker, alone. That is, we have a kind of 'editorial we'. It is not necessary to suppose that either 'majesty' or 'modesty' is implied in such cases, tho one or the other may at times be suspected. We begin with a few cases where the 'editorial we' seems particularly clear, but in general we have made no attempt to sift out such instances from the general run of variants in which the priest says 'I' or 'we' in referring to himself and his associates. For it seems to us practically impossible to do so in the large majority of instances. This lies in the very nature of the case, there is as a rule nothing to show whether the priestly 'we' means the speaker alone, or includes others of his class.

But in the first three variants, at least, it seems clear that it means the single speaker:

idam vatsyāmo bhoḥ AG.: *om aīaṁ vatsyāmi bhoḥ* ŚG.: *idam vatsyāvaḥ* HG. In AG. ŚG. alike spoken by the brahman-pupil when about to leave his teacher on a journey. In HG. spoken by the teacher at the *upanayana*; the dual includes the boy.

brahmacaryam āgām (MG. *upemasī*; Kauś. text† *āgām*, misprint?) ŚB. Kauś. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB ApG. HG. MG. Again spoken by the *brahmacārīn*. The reason for MG's secondary reading is clearly metrical; MG. makes a verse of the passage which in the others is prose.

śalam ca jīvāmi (MG. *śalam jivema*) *śaradaḥ purūciḥ* PG. MG. In the same verse, spoken by the graduate brahman-pupil; MG. otherwise has 1st singular verbs. For other forms of the variant see Conc. and §103. The other texts which show plural verb (*jīwantu*) have a different context.

Once this 'editorial we' varies with a definite first-person dual:

puṁsāṁ bahūnām mātara syāma (HG. **rau syāva*) ApMB MG. In a verse spoken by wife to husband; the dual includes the two spouses, while the plural is evidently 'editorial'.

§345. The remaining long list is as follows:

yad aham dhanena (AV. *yena dhanena*, HG. *yad vo devāḥ*) *prapanam* (ApMB. **naṁ*) *carāmi* (HG. **ma*) AV. ApMB. HG.

vairūpe sāmān iha (MS. *adhi*; KS. *vairūpeṇa sāmānā*) *tac chakeyam* (TS *chakema*; MS *tañ śakeyam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Followed by: *jagatyainam* (AŚ. **tyenam*) *vikṣo āveśayāmi* (AŚ. **ni*; TS. **mah*), same texts

mā mā (TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *no*) *hāsin* (MŚ. *hāsir*, AŚ. *hinsid*) *nāthito* (TB. ApŚ. *metthito*, AŚ. *dhvāsito dadhāmi*, some mss. omit *dadhāmi*) *nei* (AŚ. MŚ. *na*) *tvā jahāmi* (AV. KS. **ni*, TB. ApŚ. **ma*) AV. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

idam pūrṇbhyaḥ pra bhārāmi (TA. *bharema*) *barhiḥ* AV. TA. Followed by:

jīvaṁ devebhya uttaram śrṇāmi AV. *devebhyo jīvanā uttaram bharema* TA. TA. spoils the meter.

yad dhastābhyaṁ cakara (AV. *cakṛma*) *kūlbiṣṇa* AV. MS. TB. TA. *yam aichāma* (ApŚ. *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ.

samānena (TB. *sañjñānena*) *vo havīṣā juhomi* (TB. *yajāmah*) RV. AV. MS. TB.

enam panthām arukṣāma AV.: *sugam panthānam ārukṣam* ApMB

tena tvā pari dadhmaṣi (PG *dadhāmy āyuṣe*) AV PG. Different contexts, only vaguely parallel

bhūpate bhuvanapate tvā vṛnīmahe (MŚ *vṛne*) TB Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ *pragāyāmasya agrataḥ* PG. ApMB *pragāyāmy asyāgrataḥ* MG Note the metathesis of the syllable *syā*!

abadhiṣma rakṣo VS VSK ŚB *īdam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ : *avadhiṣma rakṣaḥ* TS MS KS TB ApŚ Hardly true variants

apaśyam yuwaṭim nīyamānām AV . *apaśyāma yu° ācarantīm* TA *achidraḥ prajāyā bhūyāsam* ApŚ ApMB HG cf *ariṣṭā asmālam vīrāḥ* (*santu*), *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsmā*, etc , see Conc Hardly true variants.

tasya doham aśimahi (KS *aśiya*, AŚ *aśiya te*) VS MS KS TB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ.

tām adya gāthām gāsyāmi (MG °mah) PG MG.

te yam dviṣmo yaś ca no dveṣti tam eṣām (TS ApMB *vo) *jambhe dadhmaḥ* (TS KS ApMB * *dadhāmi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB (both).

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hi*) TS MŚ But most mss of MŚ read *yajeha* (*yaja iha*), which would make *yaja* a 2d person address to Agni like *anu manyasva*

asmim sahasram puṣyāsam (Kauś *puṣyāsmā*) ŚB BṛhU Kauś

ugram sakodām iha tam huvema (MS *huve*) RV VS TS MS KS TB ŚB Bad meter in MS

ud asthām amṛtām anu VSK TS MS KS ŚB. TA AŚ ApMB : *ud asthāmāmṛtā vayam* (HG *abhūma*) AV HG

gātrām te gātrabhāyo bhūyāsmā (KS °bhāg *bhūyāsam*) TS. KS Prose *prchāmi* (LŚ °mas) *tvā param antam prthivyāḥ*,

prchāmi (LŚ °mo) *yatra* (TS KSA TB *tvā*, AV *viśvasya*) *bhuvanasya nābhīḥ* (AV TS KSA TB °im),

prchāmi (LŚ °mas) *tvā* (AV omits) *vṛṣṇo aśvasya relah*,

prchāmi (LŚ °mo) *vācaḥ paramam vyoma* RV AV VS TS KSA TB LŚ , and the first pāda in ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait.

brahman prasthāsyāmāḥ (GB ŚB KŚ ŚŚ °mi) TS KB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ.

brahman apah praneṣyāmi AŚ Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ . *brahman praneṣyāmāḥ* KB

yasmai ca tvā kṣanāmy aham (Kauś *kṣanāmasi*) VS Kauś . *yasmai cāham kṣanāmi vah* RV. VS TS

vācaḥ satyam aśimahi (VS ŚB *aśiya*) RVKh VS ŚB TB Bad meter in VS ŚB.

- vaiśvānarāya prati vedayāmah* (AV. °mī) AV TA. BDh
agnim indram (TB *agnī indrā*) *vr̥trahanā huve* 'ham (TB *vām*, MS °hanam *huvema*) AV. MS TB
etan̄ yuvānam patim (TS *pari*) *vo dadāmi* TS ŚG PG VIdh · *etan̄ vo yuvānam̄ prati dadhmo atra* AV
sugā (TS ApŚ *svagā*) *vo devāh sadanā* (TS N. °nam) *akarma* (MS *kṛnomi*, KŚ Kauś ApŚ *sadanāni santu*) AV. VS TS MS ŚB KŚ. Kauś ApŚ N : *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS
jīvā (TB ApŚ. *jīvo*) *jīvan̄tir upa vah sadema* (TB. ApŚ. *sadeyam*) AV. KS TB. MŚ ApŚ.
tan̄ (RV. omits) *sarasvantam avase huvema* (AV *havāmahe*; RV KS *johavīmī*) RV. RVKh. AV. TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ.
br̥haspatim vah. havāmahe GB Vait *br̥haspatim viśvān devān aham huve* RV. It is doubtful whether these are really related
marutān̄ pītas tad aham gr̥nāmī (MS *gr̥ṇete*, KS *pītar uta tad gr̥nīmah*) TS. MS KS.
mā (VS ŚB add *vayam̄*) *rāyaspoṣena vi yausma* VS. MS ŚB . *māham. rā° vi yōsam* TS KS TA. ApŚ
mitrasya (MS. adds *vaś*) *caḥṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe* VS MS : cf. *mitrasyaḥam caḥṣuṣā. .samīkṣe*, etc, see Conc and §303.
rudrasya sūnum havasā gr̥nīmasi (and, *vivāse*) RV (both). The change is metrical, *trīṣṭubh* and *jagatī* verses.
vājasyedam (AV VS ŚB *vājasya nu*) *prasava ābabhūva* (AV °ve *sam babhūvima*) AV. VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB
viśvair viśvāṅgair saha sam bhavema (MŚ *bhavāmi*) AV. MŚ
sam̄ jyotiṣābhūma (TS °bhūvam) VS TS MS. KS ŚB. ŚŚ · *sam sūryaśya jyotiṣāganma* AV In most texts, but not in TS, juxtaposed with formulas containing 1st plural expressions.
tasmin̄ pāśān̄ pratimuñcāma etān̄ MS KS : *yam̄ dviṣmas tasmin̄ prati-muñcāmi pāśam* TS ApŚ.
suprajāh̄ prajayā (*prajābhūh̄*) *bhūyāsam* (*syām̄*; *syāma*, *bhūyās*) See Conc, an intricate tangle of formulas, it is doubtful to what extent they are true variants of each other The plur. *syāma* only in VS ŚB, which elsewhere have the sing form too; VSK has sing in the passage corresponding to the plur. of VS.
yam̄ tvā somenātūr̥pāma (TS °pam̄; MŚ. °pan̄) VS TS ŚB MŚ
ena enasyo 'karam (TB 'karat) AV. TB (see §315): *enānsi* (TS KS * TB. * *enaś*) *caḷrmā vayam* AV VS TS MS KS * TB * And others, see Conc In adjoining stanzas of AV.
huvema vājasātaye RV. SV MS KS *huveya vā°* RV AV Cf *havantē* 1ā°, §316

anu tvendrārabhāmahe AV. *anu tvā rabhe* AV etc (see Conc). The latter is prose, the former is made metrical

ava (RV. *abhi*, MS *ā vah*, VS *ŚB vācā*) *somam nayāmasi* (RV *mṛśāmasi*; VS *ŚB ava nayāmi*) RV AV VS TS. MS KS *ŚB*.

āganta pīlarah pītṛmān aham yuṣmābhīr bhūyāsam TS : *āganta pīlarah supitaro vayam yuṣmābhīr bhūyāsmā* MŚ

tāni te parī dadmasi AV - *tām* (ApŚ * *tāns*) *te parīdadāmy aham* (TA. omits *aham*) TA ApŚ In different contexts

tebhāś chidram apī dadhmo yad atra MS AŚ *teṣām chidram prati dadhmo yad atra* KS : *teṣām chinnam sam etad* (ŚŚ *sam imam*, TS. *praty etad*) *dadhāmi* VS TS ŚŚ

devasyāham (VSK MS KS MŚ *devasya vayam*) *savituh prasave* (save) . *jeṣam* (VSK MS KS MŚ *jeṣma*) VS VSK. TS MS. KS *ŚB*. TB ApŚ MŚ

devasyāham (VSK *devasya vayam*) *savituh save aruham* (VSK. *aruhāma*) VS VSK *ŚB* Other texts have *ruheyam*; see §133.

vājnam tvā vājno 'vanayāmāh (MS *vājnyo vanayāmi*) MS TA ApŚ.

teṣv (ŚG *anyeṣv*) *aham sumanāh sam viśāmi* (AŚ °*ni*; MG. *vasāma*, ŚG *viśeyam*) AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB MG See §104, c.

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV. KS ApŚ The ApŚ reading is worthless

jagṛhmā (RV °*bhmā*, TB °*bhnā*) *te dakṣinam indra hastam* RV. SV. MS. TB. The TB form may be felt as 1st person sing (subj.); but see Ludwig on RV 10. 47 1

[*agne vṛatapate vṛatam acāriṣam*, for this Conc. quotes KS as *acāriṣma*, by error]

§346. In the following, one form or the other is more or less at variance with the context This does not necessarily mean that the consistent form is more original

śvām prajābhyo 'hinsantam agnim khañāmāh (TS KS °*mi*) VS.

TS MS KS *ŚB* A parallel formula just before this has *khañāma* in all texts

idam śreyo (AV *idam uc chreyo*) *'vasānam āgām* (ApMB. *āganma devāh*; ApŚ. °*nam yad āgām*) AV ApŚ ApMB Even in ApMB (tho it has a different context) first-singular verbs occur in the preceding line of the stanza

yac cāham eno vidvāś cakāra VS ŚŚ *yac cāham eno vidvāśaś . cakṛma..* MahānU The latter is obviously and flagrantly inconsistent with its context. The comm lamely supplies a separate verb, *akārṣam*, with *aham*

indrasya manmahe śaśvad id asya manmahe AV : *indrasya manve prathamasya pracetasah* TS MS KS In the following pāda all have the sing pronoun 'me'.

taṁ tvā juṣāmahe VS MS KS ŚB · *taṁ tvā juṣe* TS ApŚ The preceding and parallel formula is 1st sing in all; presumably TS has secondarily changed this to be consistent with it

añhomuce pra bhareṁā (AV *bhare*) *manīṣām* AV. TS MS. KS. Hapology naturally suggests itself to us, as it did to Lanman ap. Whitnev on AV 19 42 3, the meter, and the Ppp reading *bhareṁā*, seem to confirm the suggestion Yet the curious fact is to be noted that at the end of the next pāda MS. has the singular participle *āṣṇānah* as in AV (while yet reading *bhareṁā*!); TS. KS. consistently show plural participles

śarman (MS. °*mans*) *te syāma* (VS. *tava syāma śarmans*; TS *tava syām śarman*) *trivārūtha udbhau* (TS *udbhit*) VS TS. MS. KS TA Note that VS. is hypermetric, TS, with the same order and non-enclitic *tava* for *te*, corrects the meter with its *syām*; it is however clearly secondary; plural pronouns referring to 'us' occur in all texts in the preceding pāda

advēṣe (MS. °*ṣye*) *dyāvāprthivī huveṁa* (MS. *huve*) RV. VS. MS. The MS. reading is not only bad metrically but inconsistent with the pronoun *asme* in the next pāda.

edho 'sy edhiṣmah (AV. °*ṣya*) AV. VS. etc. etc. Not only in AV., but also in several texts showing plural verb, the same verse contains the phrase *tejo mayi dhehi*, with sing pronoun.

sarvān agnīn (AV. *śvān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vah* (MS *huve*; AV. *havāmahe*) AV. TS MS AB. The AV. is inconsistent with *mayi* of the next pāda, but it probably has the original reading, 'corrected' in the others. We infer this from the bad meter of MS. and the fact that TS AB. use the 'patch-word' *vah* to correct the meter.

sutarmānam adhi nāvām ruheṁa (KS. *ruheyam*) RV. TS. MS. KS. The KS. reading is inconsistent with *tareṁa* of the preceding pāda. But to call it 'absurd' and 'a mere blunder' (Keith on TS. 1. 2. 2. 2) is an exaggeration Keith would probably not have used such strong language if he had seen the evidence of the Variants as to the frequency of such things

taṁ vah supṛiṭaṁ subhṛtaṁ akarma (KS. *abhārṣam*) TS. KS. In the next formula KS. also has *nah*.

vāmā te saṁdṛṣi viśvāṁ reto dheṣṭiya (KS. *dhiṣṭiya*) MS. KS.: *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇiyāvalah tavāgne vāmāṁ anu saṁdṛṣi viśvā retāṁsi*

dhṛṣṭya TS · *vāmī nāma saṁdṛṣi vṣvā vāmāni dhīmahi* JB. The last is inconsistent.

For a few similar variants between first plural and second singular, see §307, end

2 Second Person Singular and Plural, referring to the priests and their associates

§347. As we found above (§307, cf. §290) the 2d person varying with the first in reference to the *yajamāna* or priest, the participant in or beneficiary of the rite, so we have here a few cases of 2d person verbs, singular and plural, used variously in reference to such persons. But the instances are very rare compared to the corresponding ones in the first person.

tad anu preta sukrām u lokam VS ŚB : *tam anu prehi sukrāsya lokam* TS KS Mahidhara says, *he ṛtvjah* In TS KS presumably the *yajamāna* is meant

yamam rājānam haviṣā duvasya (TA. °*syata*, AV. *saparyata*) RV. AV. MS TA The priest here addresses either himself or an associate Sāyana, *he madhyāntarātman yajamāna vā* The plural of TA. AV. is a lect. fac

ut sṛjata (SMB GG. *sṛja*) *gām* LŚ SMB GG : *om utsṛjata* (MG. °*tu*) TA. ŚŚ AG PG ApMB ApG. HG MG. (But Jørgensen reads in SMB with comm—his text mss omit the formula—*om ut sṛjata*!) The object (generally understood) is the cow at the Arghya rite 'Let it loose' is spoken by the recipient if he does not wish it killed Address to the person(s) holding the cow, or the giver of it—Some texts have in the same context various forms of the following variant (meaning 'do it!', i.e. 'kill the cow', if he wishes it killed). But the word occurs also in various other connexions:

om kuruda kuru kuruta kuruṣva kurudhvam See Conc Only in part belonging to related contexts and variants of one another, see under prec

pāpmānam me hata (Kauś °*pa jahi*) MG. Kauś

abhi (AV. *pari*) *stṛnūhi pari dhehi vedm* AV TB ApŚ *paristṛnūta paridhattāgnim* TB. ApŚ · *stṛnūta barhiḥ pari dhatta vedm* KS MŚ. The second occurrence of TB. ApŚ. is in a different verse, but one modelled on the other and in the same vicinity. The comm on AV. and also that on TB (both times) regard *darbha*-grass (sing or plur) as addrest But ApŚ introduces the formula with *sampreṣyati*, indicating that it is a command to an associate priest. The

ApŚ comm remarks that, since no other priest than the *adhvaryu* (who speaks here) 'strews', the *adhvaryu* addresses himself with this command! (cf Sāyana on *yamam rājānam* etc. above) That priests, or at least a priest, and not *darbha*-grass, are addrest seems clear from the KS MŚ variant, where *barhiḥ* is the *object* *agnīñ jyotiṣmataḥ kuruta* (MŚ *kuru*) ApŚ MŚ 'Light the fires' Address to priest(s) or attendant(s), not clearly specified.

3 Subject pluralized or dualized, varying with the same subject in the singular

§348. We have referred (§296) to the variants in which a singular verb with singular subject is, as it were, multiplied to a dual or plural. They fall naturally into two groups. The first, with which we are here concerned, includes those in which the same subject, in the same or at least a very similar context, and without the inclusion of any different entity, is pluralized or dualized, the number of the verb changing with it. The second group (§§353 ff.), in which the dual or plural is formed by the inclusion of another entity or entities than the singular subject, will be treated in the next subdivision. Instances of the converse, that is substitution of a singular for plural in the like circumstances, are equally common and are included in the list which follows. We begin with cases of

§349. Singular and Plural

vi parjanyaṃ (TS. °yāh) *srjanṭi* (MS KS *pra parjanyaḥ sṛjātām*) *rodaṣṭi anu* RV TS MS KS. In RV the subject is the Maruts, in the others, Parjanya, singular or plural. The RV. form in relation to the others belongs in §361 below, q v.

agne gr̥hapata upa mā hvayasva KS ApŚ MŚ. *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait, cf. *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* SB. 'O Agni house-lord (or, O Fires), invite me'

ārtavo 'dhipatir āsit TS : *ārtavā adhīpataya āsan* VS. ŚB. : *ṛtavo 'dhipatayā āsan* MS KS. 'The season(s, or the like) was (were) overlord(s)'

dviṣan me bahu śocatu TB ApŚ : *dviṣantas tapyantām bahu* MŚ. In the preceding pāda all texts refer to a singular 'hater'.

upahūtupahvayasva; upahūtā upahvayadhvam MŚ (both)

ekaśapham asṛjyata MS. *ekaśaphāḥ paśavo 'srjyanta* VS TS KS. ŚB.

Here the singular is really a collective and means the same as the plural: 'one-hoofed (animals) were created'

dhiṣanās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ (MS. MŚ. *dhiṣaṇā tvā devī viśvadevya-*

vatā) . . . *abhīndhatām* (MS. once *abhīnddhām*, once *abhīndhātām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. and (pratikā) MŚ. Since a dual form cannot be construed, it seems that the form *abhīndhātām* (if not corrupt) is a bastard subjunctive-imperative blend, intended to be 3d singular (like *abhīnddhām*, the proper form).

manojavās tvā pītṛbhīr (KS. *pītarō*) *dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* (KS. *pāntu*) VS TS. KS. ŚB.: *manojavaso vah pītṛbhīr dakṣiṇata upa dadhatām* TA.: *pītaras tvā manojavā dakṣiṇataḥ pāntu* MS. In the same passage The form *manojavās* is plural in MS KS, singular in the others.

śundhantām lokāḥ pītṛśadanāḥ VS MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ: *śundhatām lokah pītṛśadanāḥ* TS. ApŚ. 'Let the world(s) where the fathers sit be purified'

dūrvā rohanu puṣṣiṇīḥ (AV. *rohatu puṣṣiṇī*) RV. AV. 'Let flowering *dūrvā*-plant(s) grow.' Some mss of AV, followed by comp. and SPP., read as RV., and Whitney reports Ppp. likewise.

mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV.: *mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV.

indrāghoṣas (KS °ṣās) *tvā vasubhīḥ* (KS † *vasavah*) *purastāt pātu* (KS. *pāntu*) VS TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

mā te riṣann upasattāro agne AV.: *mā ca riṣad upasattā te agne* VS. TS. MS KS

imam yajñam avatu yā (AŚ. *no*) *ghṛtācī* (TS *avantu no ghṛtācīḥ*) TS MS. KS. AŚ. Subject is the *śakvarī*-verse(s), singular or (TS) plural.

śunam kīnāśā abhi (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS. *kīnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhaḥ* (AV. TS *vāhān*) RV. AV. VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB

vāk patamgo aśīśryat (KS °gā *aśīśrayuh*) AV KS The same pāda is read: *vāk patamgāya dhāyate* (TS. *śīśrye*, MS. *dhāyate*), with middle or passive verb and different subject, in RV. AV. SV. ArS VS TS. MS. ŚB.

anavahāyāsmān (KS. adds *devi dakṣiṇe*) *devayānena pathā* (TS *patheta*, KS *pathā yati*) *sukṛtām loke śidata* (KS. *śida*) TS. MS. KS Plural in TS MS. because the *dakṣiṇās* there addressee are plural; in KS. they are considered collectively, or (better) as a personified abstraction, and hence singular. In the same context, and due to the same circumstances:

asmadrātā (TS. *asmaddātrā*; MS. ŚŚ. add *madhumatīr*, KS. *madhumatī*) *devatrā gachata* (KS. *gacha*; TS adds *madhumatīḥ*) VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. And:

pradātāram ā viśata (KS. *viśa*) VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

Quite similar to the preceding three variants is the group of the next three, all in the same passage in the YV Samhitās:

raudrenānīkena pāhi māgne (VS *pāla māgnayah*) VS TS M[~] KS ŚŚ :

Followed by.

pīpṛi mā (KS *māgne*) TS MS KS ŚŚ *pīpṛi māgnayah* (PB ŚŚ mā) VS PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait And —

mā mā hinsīh (*hinsīṣṭa*), see Conc (This last occurs very frequently, and in other connexions) In these three cases either various altars are address, or Fire collectively, or the same personified, as Agni(s).

yad asuddhah parājaghāna KS . *yad vo 'suddhāh parā jaghnur* (VSK 'suddhah parā jaghānairād) VS VSK ŚB See §30

pracetās tvā rudrah paścāt pātu VS TS KS ŚB *pracetā* (here felt as plural) *vo rudrah paścād upa dadhatām* TA *rudrās tvā pracetasah paścāt pāntu* MS

yai paśur māyūm akrā TS ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB GG . *yad vaśā māyūm akrata* Kauś In Kauś *vaśā(h)* is plural, all mss. *akrata ye no dṛṣṇanti anu tām rabhasva* AV *yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva* MŚ. : *yo no dveṣṭi anu tam ravasva* (read *rabhasva*?) ApŚ .

varūtrayo janayas tvā pacantūkhe TS . *var'itrī* (and, *varu*°) *tvā . . pacatām ukhe* MS : *janayas tvā pacantūkhe* VS MS KS ŚB.

vi śloka etu (AV *eti*; TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV *sūrih*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB ŚvetU.

anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir manyatām (KS °*patayo manyadhvam*, ŚB.* °*patir amansta*) VS TS KS GB ŚB (bis) Vait.

ā me graho bhavatu (KSA *grahā bhavantu*) *ā puroruk* TS KSA.

abhy arṣati (and, *arṣanti*) *suṣtutim*, *pavamānā abhy arṣanti suṣtutim* RV (all) Subject is Soma Pavamāna, sing or plur, see RVRep. 437

aido me bhagavo 'janīṣṭhā matṛāvarunah MS . *aidā me bhagavanto 'janīdhvam matṛāvarunāh* MŚ And, in same passage, *ūrjā me bhagavah saha janīṣṭhāh* (MŚ *bhagavanīh saḥājamdhvam*) MS MŚ : *jñātram me vinda* (MŚ *vindata*), *samvīdam me vinda* (MŚ *vindata*) MS MŚ *punṛā punyam* (and, °*yāni*) *asūt*, (and *citrā citram* (and, °*rām*) *asūt* MŚ , *punṛāh* (and, *citrās*) *punṛān* (°*yā*, and *citrān*, *citrā*) *asuvan* MŚ

prathamam arīṇ yuyotu nah MIG *pra sa* (read *su*) *mṛtyum yuyolana* HG . *pra sumariyam* (ApMB *su mṛtyum*) *yuyolana* SMB ApMB. Subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere

tena brahmāno vapatedam asya (ŚG *adya*) AV TB AG ŚG PG HG
ApMB *tena brāhmanō vapatu* MG · *tenāsyāyuse vapa* ApMB
See §330

tena yantu yajamānāh svasti MS *tenantu yajamānāh svasti* (KS * ApŚ
svastyā) TS KS ApŚ The real motive for MS's change may have
been metrical, the plural may be understood as one of respect, but
for plurality and duality of *yajamānas* see in Conc under *agnim*
adya hotāram (*avṛñtām*)

āyusmatyā (**tya*) *ṛco mā gāta* (Vait *māpagāyā*, Kauś *mā satsi*) TS
AŚ ŚŚ Vait Kauś One or more priests are address Caland on
Vait would read **gāyata*, presumably because the surrounding
parallel phrases are plural, but the sing is supported by Kauś

ud rathānām (AV *vīrānām*) *jayatām yantu ghoṣāh* (AV TS **tām etu*
ghoṣah) RV AV VS SV TS

upantu mām devasakhah RVKh Rvīdh *upa yantu mām devaganāh* MG
nīṣaṅgīna upa sprśata HG *nīṣaṅgīnn upa sprśa* ApMB Rudra is
meant, and is referred to in the singular in other formulas in the
context of HG ; we may understand the plural to refer to the Rud-
ras, or Rudra's 'hosts'

pavanīām āntarikṣyā RV SV *pavatām ā* *RV And

pavante vāre avyaye RV SV *pavate v° a°* RV The subject is soma,
singular or plural The plural occurrences are found in the midst
of *ṛcas* with singular soma referred to, see Bloomfield, *RVRep* 427

atho (TS MS *athā*) *yūyam stha* (MS KS *tvam asi*) *nīṣkrīh* (TS *saṃk°*,
MS *saṃkrīh*, KS *nīṣkrīh*) RV VS TS MS KS Address to
herbs, or (MS KS) to an herb, but the singular reading is incon-
sistent with the rest of the verse, both prec and following *pādas*,
where even MS. KS have plur

trāyātām marutām ganah RV.. *trāyantām marutām gaṇāh* AV

bhaga(s) stha bhagasya vo lapsīya KS ApŚ *bhago'si bh° la°* MŚ Ad-
dressed to cakes, one of which is taken by each of the participants
in the rite. Plur thinks of the plurality of cakes, sing. thinks of
each person addressing his own cake 'Ye are (thou art) luck' etc
idā (p p *idāh*; MS *idāh*; KS *idās*) *stha* TS MS KS *ilāsī* ŚŚ

§350. Singular, Dual, and Plural

asā (*asāv*) *anu mā tanu* (LŚ *tanuhī jyotiṣā*) MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ And
vīkāras in MŚ *amū anu mā tanutam, amū anu mā tanuta*

§351. Singular and Dual

tatra rayīsthām anu sambharatām (AŚ *sambhavatām*, MŚ *sambharetām*)
TB ApŚ AŚ MŚ See §330

nīlaloḥitam bhavati (ApMB °*te bhavataḥ*) RV AV. ApMB The bridal garment, which is made dual (i.e. of two pieces) in ApMB, 'becomes blue-red'

viśvakarmans tanūpā asī ŚB. *viśvakarmānau tanūpau me sthah* ŚŚ Followed in both by a series of formulas address to two sacred fires; in ŚŚ this formula is assimilated to them, *viśva*° being made an epithet of the fires

viṣṇor manasā pūte sthah (Kauś also, *pūtam asī*) MS KS ApŚ. MŚ Kauś (both) GG KhG Strainers are referred to, two are mentioned in Kauś in the sūtra just preceding the one which has the singular form

mā tvā vṛkṣah (TA *vṛkṣau*) *sam bādhiṣṭa* (TA °*tām*, and *bādhetām*) AV TA (bis) The TA refers to two pieces of wood

so'dhvarā karatī jātavedāh AB *hnotu so adhvārāñ* (VS TB °*rā*) *jātavedāh* VS MS KS TB ApŚ *hnutām tāv adhvārā jātavedasau* MŚ. §352. Dual and Plural

ahorātrās (KS TA °*trāni*) *te kalpantām* VS KS ŚB TA *ahorātre te* (TB *me*) *kalpetām* MS TB 'Days-and-nights' or 'day-and-night' *rājānam samgāyata* (PG °*gāyetām*) ŚG. PG Subject, lute-players, two in PG, more than two in ŚG, who are commanded to 'sing of the king'

agner jīhvām abhi (MS *jīhvābhi*, p p *jīhvām*, *abhi*, AV KS *jīhvayābhi*) *grnātam* (AV *grnata*) AV. VS TS MS KS The subject is certain 'divine holders', plural in AV, dual in the others, according to Mahidhara on VS they are Agni and Vāyu, acc to Griffith on VS, Agni with Āditya or Varuna, or Agni celestial and terrestrial The AV comm is missing, Griffith on AV. understands 'priests of the gods', Ludwig omits the verse in his translation, and Weber omits the entire hymn

samprca (°*ah*, °*as*) *stha sam mā bhadrena prñkta* VS VSK KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *samprcau sthah sam mā bhadrena prñktam* VS. ŚB. And, in same passage

viprca (°*ah*, °*as*) *stha vi mā* (MŚ. omits *mā*) *pāpmanā* (VSK. *pāpena*) *prñkta* *viprcau stho vi mā pāpmanā prñktam*, same texts VSK has plural in place of the dual of VS Address to *grahas*, in the dual passage only two in VS ŚB. (*somasurāgrahau*, comm), but in the preceding part of the formula a plurality of them is address in these texts also.

vājino vājayito vājam sarīṣyanto etc, and *vōjīnau vājayitau vājam jīvā* etc, also:

vājino vājayito vājam sasvānso etc, and *vājinau vājayatau vājam jīvā* etc, both VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ. For the various readings see §329. Either two horses of the racing team, or the entire team, are alternatively addressed or referred to in this ritual formula *agnim adya hotāram (avṛṇātām, and avṛṇata)* ŚŚ, see Conc. under this item.

4 Subject pluralized or dualized by the inclusion of a different entity or entities from that designated in the singular form

§353. Here the dual or plural goes with a subject which includes both the subject of the singular form and some other entity or entities, referred to in the context. It differs from the preceding class in that the 'multiplication' is accomplished by including a disparate person or thing. As before, the process works both ways, sometimes addition or multiplication, sometimes subtraction or division. Very frequently this manifests itself in the following way: a series of coordinate nouns is the joint subject of a plural verb, while in another form of the same formula the verb is made singular, agreeing nominally with the nearest subject alone. There is, of course, no real difference in the sense in such cases. All three numbers occur in the first variant, which is somewhat complicated.

§354. Singular, Dual and Plural

indram karmasv āvatam (MS VS **ta*) RV AV VS (both) MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *indram karmasv avatu* MS *indra karmasu no 'vata* VS KS *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB (see below). All in essentially the same stanza, with sometimes extensive modifications. The original (RV) subject is the Aśvins, who are meant by the dual verb. The plural includes Sarasvatī, named (in this version) in the preceding pāda, or Sarasvatī and Indra, in the variant reading *indra* (voc). In the singular form the subject is Sarasvatī alone, as nearest subject (MS). The TB, if the reading were correct, would be interpretable with Indra as subject, but the Poona ed. text and comm., and the comm. of the Bibl. Ind. ed., read *indra 'vata*, like the second version of VS KS.

§355. Singular and Plural

āsīdantu (SV *āsīdatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB adds *varuno*) *aryamā* RV. SV VS TB. Followed by *prātaryāvāno adhvaram*. The real subject in RV is the gods in general, *mitro aryamā* are merely examples (Sāyana *yo mitro deo yaś cāryamā ye cānye prātaryāvānah devās* etc). But both SV and TB were troubled by the seeming disagreement (two gods, plural verb), and each tried to better the

construction—SV. by making the verb singular (agreeing with the nearer subject, *mitro*), TB by inserting *varuno* and thus providing three subjects

mā vo riṣat (Kauś *te riṣan*) *khanitā* RV. VS TS Kauś The rest of the verse reads in Kauś *· yasmai ca tvā khanāmasi, dvipāc catuṣpād asmākam mā riṣad devy oṣadhe*. The plural in a is awkward, but is evidently conditioned by thought of the other subjects in b. c. 'may they (all) not be harmed, (namely) thy digger, he for whom we dig thee, our bipeds and quadrupeds' etc Perversely, Kauś has a singular in d (*mā riṣad devy oṣadhe*) where a plural would be simpler, it is to be explained as a collective, see under §358 The others have a different pāda d

samvatsaraś ca kalpatām (most mss of TA. *kalpantām*) TA MahānU. Preceded by *ardhamāsā māsā ṛtavah* The TA comm knew both readings, after explaining *kalpatām*, with subject *samvatsarah*, he goes on *· kalpantām uti bahuvacanapāṭhe sarve 'pi kālamśeṣāḥ uti yojyam*—The formulas *samvatsaro me kalpatām* and *samvatsaras te ka°* (see Conc) have no real connexion with this one

apām garbham vy adadhāt (MS °*dhuḥ*) *purutrā* VS TS. MS KS The subject in VS. TS KS is *pitā*, mentioned in the prec pāda, in MS it either includes the three personages mentioned in pādas a-c (Viśvakarman, gandharva, and *pitṛ*), or possibly it is a generalizing plural (cf. §359)

ṛtān mā muñcatānhasah TB : *kṛtān nah pāhy anhasah* (TA *enasah*) MS TA In the prec two pādas first *dvāvāprthivī* are addrest, then *sarasatī*. The verb agrees with the nearer subject in MS. TA, while in TB it includes both

savitā varca ādadhāt (MG °*dhuḥ*) TB MG Preceded by. *tubhyam indro* (MG adds *varuno*) *bṛhaspatih* In MG. the subject is made to include the gods mentioned in the prec pāda, while in TB it agrees with *savitā* alone

rucam no dhatta (MS *dhehi*) *bṛhaspate* VS TS MS KS Preceded by *· indrāgnī tābhīh sarvābhīh* The plural verb includes *indrāgnī* as well as *bṛhaspate* as subject

ūrdhu ayā diśā (ŚŚ *diśā saha*, TS AŚ *ūrdhvāyām diśi*) *yajñāh samvatsaro* (TS ŚŚ add *yajñapatir*, AŚ °*rah prajāpatir*) *mārjayantām* (MS AŚ °*yatām*) TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ—KS is unsyntactical in that it has a plural verb with only two subjects In MS AŚ the verb is made singular, agreeing with the nearest subject only

yajumānāya dravinam dadhātu (VS ŚB KS * *dadhāta*) AV VS VSK TS MS KS (both) ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ A long series of gods named in the preceding, in the majority of texts the verb is sing agreeing with only the last On the change of person see §332

śaddhā praṇā (read *praṇā*?) *ca medhā ca tūlāh śāntim kurvantu svāhā* MahānU *śraddhāmedhe praṇū tu jātavedah samdadātu svāhā* TAA In the latter the verb agrees with *praṇā*, the nearer subject *sūryah* (also, *somah*) *pavitram sa mā punātu* ApŚ *vāyuh somah sūrya indrah pavitram te mā punantu* N

hotā yakṣad aśvināu (°nā) *śarasvatīm indram suramnām somānām pibatu madantām vyanu* (KS *indram sutrāmānam somānām surāmnām juṣantām vyanu pibantu somān surāmnah*, AŚ *indram* [as KS] *pibantu madantu somān* etc.) MS KS AŚ In MS subject of *pibatu* is Indra alone (the last-mentioned god, he is more-over the soma-drinker par excellence), while all the gods named are the subjects of the other verbs in MS, and in KS AŚ of *pibantu* likewise

dārgham āyuh kṛnotu me etc., see §365

śarad dhemanah svute dadhāta (°tu), etc., see §332

§356. Singular and Dual

tasya nāmnā vṛścāmi (MŚ *vṛścāvo*) *yo 'smān* (MŚ *asmān*) *dveṣṭ* ApŚ MŚ 'By its name I (we two, i.e. I and the fireplace addressed) cleave him who hates us'

yena yamasya (AV *yamasya yena*, ApŚ TB omit *yena*) *udhīnā (bahnā) carāmi* (MS MŚ *carāvah*, SMB† *carāmi*) AV TS MS TB TA ApŚ MŚ SMB 'With what treasure (tribute) of Yama I (we two) go about' The dual cunningly draws the god Agni (addressed in the context) into partnership with the sinner¹

punar ātman dadhātu me ApŚ *punar me jathare dhātām* GB Vait Preceded in the latter by *agnis ca tat savitā ca*, in ApŚ by *agnis tat somah pṛthuvī* (verb agrees with last subject)

sam yuyūva (TS *babhūva*) *sanubhya ā* RV TS *sam sanuyūva varīṣv ā* KSA Preceded in all by *aham ca tvam ca vṛtrahan* The dual is the natural form, TS (excluding *tvam* from the subject) is bizarre

avānyāns tantūn kṛato dhātto anyān TB *prānyā tantūns tṛate dhātte anyā* AV Inclusive dual in TB, two separate singulars, each with subject *anyā*, in AV That is, two separate actions are performed by the members of the pair, one apiece, in AV, both actions are done by both together in TB

samagñāne rodasī sambabhūvatuh TB ApŚ . *samānam yonim abhisambabhūva* MŚ Preceded by *yad idam* (MŚ *ado*) *dwo yad adah* (MŚ. *idam*) *prthivyāh* In MŚ the real sense implies a dual subject, but the verb agrees syntactically with the nearer of the two; note that it has no dual noun referring to the subject, as have the others *saha dharmam cara* (GDh *dharmas caryatām*) GDh. NāradaDh . *sahobhau caratām dharmam* MDh

ayād (ŚŚ *ayāl*) *agnir* (MŚ *ayāstām agnīvarunāv*) *agneh priyā dhāmāni* MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ MŚ And, in the same passage: *ayāt* (MŚ *ayāstām*) *somasya* , *ayād* (*ayāstām*) *devānām* . . . , *yakṣad agner hotuh* (*yakṣato 'gnīvarunayor hotroh*) . . . ; *yakṣat svam mahimānam* (*yakṣatah svau mahimānau*); *āyajatām* (*āyajeyātām*) . *eyā یشah; kṛnotu so adhvārān* ("rā) *jātavedāh* (*kṛnutām tāu adhvārā jātavedasau*), *yuṣatām* (*yuṣetām*) *havih* Duals all in MŚ; singulars (subject Agm) in various of the others, see Conc

mā mā (KS *mām*, AB *mainam*) *hinsīṣtam svam* (AB *svām*, KS *yat svam*) *yonim āviśantau* (KS *āviśāthah*) MS. KS AB : *mā mā hinsīh svām* (KS *svam*) *yomm āviśantā* (KS TB ApŚ *āviśan*) VS KS ŚB TB. ApŚ The dual is addressed to soma and *surā* together (both are mentioned in the preceding), the singular to *surā* and soma, respectively, alone

§357. Dual and Plural

aśvinā bhīṣajāvatah (MS 'iam; TB 'ia) VS MS TB 'O Aśvins, physicians, aid', or, 'let the Aśvins' etc In TB the plural is due to the inclusion of Sarasvatī (mentioned in the preceding) along with the Aśvins in the subject

vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ 'mahai, MŚ *visṛjāvahai*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait. ApŚ MŚ PG The formula is used in dissolving the ritual bond between *yajamāna* and priests, and dual pronouns occur in the preceding, the dual of MŚ is therefore quite rational But the other texts think of the plurality of priests, together with the *yajamāna* *agnīṣomau tam apa nudatām* (Conc quotes 'iam) VS ŚB . *agnir agnīṣomau tam apanudantu* ŚŚ Very simple case of 'addition' to the subject

[*āyuskrd āyuspatnī svadhāvantau*], *gopā me stam*, *gopāyatam mām*, *ātmasadāu me stam mā mā hinsīṣtam* AV 5 9 8 [*āyuskrd āyupatnī* (ms 'nīh, read *āyuskrd āyupatnī*?) *svadhāvo*] *gopā nah stha* KS 37 15 [*āyukrd āyuhpatnī svadhā vo* (so text, and so Caland interprets, not as voc *svadhāvo*)] *gopīryo me stha*, *gopāyata mā*, *raṣata mātmasado me stha* ApŚ 6 21 1 The dual verbs of AV are apparently

address to the *svadhāvantau* (note masculine predicates) KS. has plural with masc predicates, the masc being really common gender, inclusive of *āyuspatnī*, fem, ApŚ has fem plural, presumably including the sing *āyukṛd* (understood as fem ?) and the dual-fem *āyuhpatnī* as subjects, if Garbe and Caland are right in dividing *svadhā vo*, ApŚ has no unmistakably masc subject

5 Singular verb used alternatively with plural or dual subject felt collectively

§358. As we mentioned above, §297, a plural or dual verb, justified by strict grammar, may be replaced by a singular verb because the subject is felt collectively as a unit. In the first instance the plural is a *plurale tantum*, *āpah* 'waters', which is unquestionably construed with a singular verb here

āpo 'mṛtam stha (PrānāgU °*am asi*) Kauś PrānāgU 'O waters, ye are (thou art) nectar' We believe the context makes it clear that PrānāgU really feels *āpah* as a collective singular in sense, to explain the form *asi* as attracted to the number of the predicate noun *amṛtam* would be, in our opinion, a mechanical and uninspired interpretation of the passage

Singular and Dual

drupadād va muñcatām (TB °*tu*, so read with Poona ed) AV TB Preceded by *bhūtam mā tasmād bhavyam ca* 'May what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a post' The singular in TB might, possibly, be explained as under (e), that is as agreeing with the nearer of the two subjects alone, but this seems to us false and mechanical. Rather, the two subjects are taken together as forming a single unitary concept

See also the Kauś reading, 33 9d, quoted under *mā vo riṣat* etc, §355

6 Generalising forms, with subject indefinite

§359. We saw above (§291), that the commonest Vedic form used to express an indefinite subject (French *on*, German *man*) is the third plural. This varies frequently with a third singular, which is often likewise indefinite, but sometimes has a definite subject. Indefinite third person forms, either singular or more often plural, likewise vary with first and second person, generally with definite subjects. Such variations between first and third person have been listed above §314 f, the rarer cases of third plural varying with second singular, with one somewhat similar case of second plural and indefinite third singular, are

listed below. The great majority of cases concern only third person forms, in which the 3d plural is indefinite, while the third singular is either definite or indefinite

agnaye sam anamat prthivyā sam anamad TS KSA.: *prthivyām agnaye sam anamat sa ārdhnot* AV (And the like with *antarik-ṣāya sam* etc., see Cone, and others) 'To Agni, to the earth, one (they) made obeisance, he (it) threw' Both singular and plural are indefinite In the sequel of the same formula, however, TS. has a definite 3d singular, with subject Agni, while the 3d plural of AV. is still indefinite

yathāgnih prthivā sam anamad. TS. *yathā prthivyām agnaye sam anamann* .AV. 'As Agni made obeisance to the earth', or, 'as on the earth they made obeisance to Agni'

na yac chūdreṣu alapsata (ŚŚ *alapsata*) AB ŚŚ 'Which they (one) would not find (even) among *sūdras*' 3d plural aor. 3d sing desiderative, both indefinite See §135

svastā nah pūrnāmukhah parī krāmatu (HG °*mukham parī krāmantu*) ApMB. HG. As the priest (only one, even in HG.) walks around (cows etc used in the ritual) he says 'With luck may one (they) walk around full-faced (or, around our full face?).' The plural, at least, seems to be generalizing and indefinite in character

nābhu prāpnoti (MŚ °*nuyur*) *nirṛtim parācah* (AŚ MŚ *parastāt*) TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ. *na tat prāpnoti nirṛtim parācah* (KŚ. *nirṛth parastāt*) KŚ ApŚ The isolated reading of MŚ is probably a mere blunder; the passage is otherwise corrupt in the MŚ mss., see Knauer's note But it can at a pinch be interpreted as generalizing, 'they' = 'people', 'man'

brahmajāyeyam itī (AV °*jāyeti*) *ced avocan* (AV °*cat*) RV. AV Both sing and plur. are indefinite 'if they have (one has) said, She is a brahaman's wife'

yat te grāvnā cichaduh (MŚ *vichandāt*) *soma rājan* TB Vait. MŚ Both sing and plur generalizing 'what with the press-stone they have (one may) cut off, O King Soma'

yat te grāvā bahucyuto acucyavuh (Vait *acucyot*) TB Vait In a stanza which immediately follows the preceding The plural of TB is really uninterpretable (comm *acyāvayat*), it must be rendered: 'what of thee (soma) the press-stone, arm-dropped, has let fall.' But it seems to be felt vaguely as a generalizing plural, no doubt in mechanical imitation of the plural verb in the preceding and similar passage, just quoted.

yēbhīr vācam puṣkalebhīr anyāyan (TB °yat) KS TB The plur is certainly generalizing, and acc to TB comm also the sing (*sarvo janituh* is supplied as subject), altho it might be understood as having *sūrya* of the prec pāda as subject, cf next

yēbhīr vācam vīśvarūpebhīr anyāyan (TB °rūpām samanyāyat) KS TB In the same passage as the prec Again the plur is certainly generalizing, and the sing may be considered so with as much right as in the prec, altho this time TB comm supplies Prajāpati from the prec pāda

vāyuh paśur āsīt tenāyajanta (KSA °jata) . VS TS. KSA ŚB And the same with *agnih*, and with *ādityah* (*sūryah*) Both forms are generalizing 'therewith they (= people, or, one) sacrificed'

tāsām svasṛr ājanayat (MS *svār ājanan*, KS † *svasṛr* [ms *svasūr*] *ājanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS MS KS In TS the subject is *dhātā* of preceding pāda, in the others there is no definite subject (generalizing plural)

purutrā te manutām (AV *vanvatām*) *vīṣhitam jagat* RV AV VS TS. MS KSA N The subject in AV can only be indefinite, 'they', if the reading is correct, the comm reads *vanutām* In the others *jagat* is the subject

ya indrena saratham yāti devah AV *yenendrasya iatham sambabhūvuh* MS KS ApŚ In the latter the subject is indefinite, in AV it is *yah* = Agni (who is referred to by *yena* in the others)

§360. For variations between indefinite 3d plural and definite 1st singular, see §315 above In a few cases we find the same indefinite 3d plural varying with a definite 2d singular, and once or twice, in the first two variants, a somewhat similar variation between a generalizing 3d singular (subject once a relative pronoun used as indefinite) varying with a definite 2d plural

samātāro yad atra sukrītam kṛnavathāsmāsu tad yad duṣkrītam anyatra tat AB AŚ *yo duṣkrītam karavat tasya duṣkrītam* Kauś

tena mā saha śundhata (AV *vulgate śumūhantu*, but SPP *śumbhatu*, adopted by Whitney on 18 3 56) RV AV In RV apparently the waters are address, in AV the plural form (which is read by some mss) might also refer to them (and then concerns §337), the singular, if correct, can only be indefinite (Whitney, 'one')

yenendrāya samabharah (MS KS °an) *payānsi* AV TS MS KS In AV TS the subject is Agni, in MS KS indefinite 'By which thou didst (they did) collect milk for Indra'

ṇayanto garbham ṇanām dhayam dhuh RV.: *ṇayantam gīrbhir ṇanū dhayam dhāh* SV The subject in RV is indefinite 3d plural, in SV it is Agni, to whom the hymn is address See Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 10 46 5

yena jayanti (TB *jayāsi*) *na parā jayante* (TB *jayāsat*) AV TB 'By whom people conquer (thou shalt conquer), not be conquered'

ranan (SV *ranā*) *gāvo na yavase* RV SV 'May they (indefinite, Ludwig 'man', in SV, 'do thou') rejoice as cows do in pasture' Subject Soma in SV

[*sarasvatyā* (?*tyām*) *adhī, manāv* (with variants) *acarkṛṣuh* (*acarkṛṣuh*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG See §§136, 236 The SMB is quoted in the Conc, following the older edition, as *sa° adhī vanāva carkṛdhī*, the only possible subject of the 2d person verb would be Indra, who is mentioned (not address) in the sequel But the true reading is no doubt *manāv acarkṛṣuh*, as given by Jørgensen]

7 Change of Number due to Change of Subject, in the same context

§361. In many cases the shift in verbal number is due to a rearrangement of the syntax of the passage, involving a change of subject Cf above, §§ 323, 338 Naturally, there is often a change of person as well as number We begin with cases in which number alone is changed; and first cases of

Third Person, Singular and Plural

brahma devā avīrḍhan (MS *devan*, KS *devān*, MS KS *avīrḍhat*) VS MS TS KS ŚB ApŚ 'The gods have increased brahman', or, 'brahman has increased the gods'

catuṣtomam adadhād (TS *°ṣtomo abhavad*) *yā turīyā* TS. MS KS : *agnīṣomāv adadhur yā turīyāsi* AV Subject in AV. must be *ṛṣayah* in the sequel if the text is correct, but Whitney on 8 9 14 would emend to *adadhād*

apām upaṣṭhe mahiṣo vavardha (RV * VS ŚB *mahiṣā vavardhan*) RV. (both) AV SV VS ŚB TA *vavardha*, intrans, subject Agni, who is the object of *vavardhan* (trans, subject *mahiṣāh*)

tayā devāḥ sutam ā babhūvuh TS KSA TB : *sā no asmin suta ā babhūva* VS MS See Keith on TS 4 1 2, 1, note 6

yathāmīṣām (AV. *yathaiṣām*, SV *yatharīṣām*, VS *yathāmī*) *anyo anyam na jānāt* (VS *jānan*) RVKh AV. SV VS. The plural in VS is due to the fact that *amī* is made the subject 'So that one of them may not know another', or, 'so that they may not know one the other.'

ekapadī dvīpadī bhuvanānu prathatām svāhā TS *ekapādam dvīpādam tripādam catuṣpādam bhuvanānu prathantām* KS *ekapadīm catuṣpadīm aṣṭāpadīm bhuvanānu prathantām* VS ŚB The TS form is intrans, 'let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds, the others have a trans verb with indefinite subject, 'let them spread her out' etc This might be grouped under the preceding subdivision, but for the change of subject

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ See §30, end
tābhīh samrabdham anu avindan (TB *samrabdho avidat*) *ṣad urvīh* AV.
 TB In AV *ṣad urvīh* is the subject, in TB it is made the object, the subject being *samrabdho* (= Rohita)

anvātānsīl twayi (MS' *anvātānsus tava*) *tantum etam* VS TS MS KS ŚB
 The subject is somewhat obscure in both cases, Mahidhara on VS understands *ṛṣayah*, despite singular verb! MS seems to take the subject to be *pitarah* in the preceding pāda (the others have *pitarā* or **ram*).

apochatu (AV. **chantu*) *mithunā yā kimīdinā* (AV *ye kimīdinah*) RV AV
 In RV the subject of the (transitive) verb is doubtless Indra, who is mentioned in the preceding verse, 'let him shine away the paired *kimīdins*' In AV the verb is intransitive, and the subject *kimīdinah* 'let the *kimīdins* fade away'

achāyam yanti śavasā ghṛtācīh KS **achāyam et śavasā ghṛtena* (AV *ghṛtā cit*) AV TS VS MS Keith on TS 4 1 8 1 not unfairly calls the KS reading 'absurd', but the psychology of it is plain, it is thinking of *śrucah* in the next line In the others the subject is Agni

āvīr bhuvad (ArS *bhuwann*) *arunīr yaśasā goh* (ArS *gāvah*) RV ArS
 The subject is changed from *arunīh* (singular in RV) to *gāvah*, no doubt because ArS feels *arunīh* to be a plural adjective

pibāt somam mamadad (AS ŚŚ *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ ŚŚ. *iṣṭayah*) AV AŚ ŚŚ 'May it (soma) exhilarate him at the sacrifice', 'may the sacrifices exhilarate him'

aryamno agnum pary etu pūṣan (ApMB *pary yantu lṣipram*) AV ApMB
 The subject is the bride in AV, the kinsfolk (or priests?) in ApMB
āpo malam va prānāṣṭīl (ApŚ *prānījan*) AV ApŚ Subject is a plant in AV, in ApŚ waters, the verb being drawn into the simile

tam rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhat TS *tam rakṣasva, mā tvā dabhan* MS
 1 2 13 22 12, VS 5 39, KS 3 1 (in Conc quoted under the two parts separately, but this is the true parallel to the TS passage, instead of *tān rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhan*, to which Conc gives a

cross-reference but which is an unrelated passage). *rakṣasva* is address to Savitar, *rakṣadhvam* to the gods in general (cf. Kerth on TS 1 3 4 2) *iam* refers to soma, which in TS is made the subject of *dabhat*, 'may it not fail you', the others understand *dabh-* in a different sense 'may they (indefinite, acc to Mahidhara, the asuras) not injure thee (Savitar)'

naṣkrītaḥ sa (TS °*krīto* 'yam, KS MŚ. °*krītās te*) *yajñiṇāṃ bhāgam etu* (KS MŚ. *bhāgam yantu*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. The subject varies from the *paśupati* to cattle.

vi parjanyaṃ (TS °*yāh*) *srjanti* (MS. KS *pra parjanyaḥ srjātām*) *rodasī anu* RV TS. MS KS In RV. the subject is the Maruts, in the others Parjanya, sing or (TS) plural (cf. §349).

sūro akṛṣṭv ā yaman (SV. *yamat*) RV SV Preceded by: *mā na indrābhy ādīṣah* RV ° 'O Indra, let not (evil) intentions aim at us in the light of the sun (or, intentions of the sun by night)' cf. Neisser, *Zum Wbch des RV s v aktu*, Oldenberg, RV. *Noten* 2 144 In SV. *sūro* is evidently conceived as nom subject of *yamat*, presumably with *ādīṣah* object.

§362. Second Person, Singular and Plural

eco ṣu asman muñcatā vy anhaḥ RV MS KS ApŚ ° *evā tvam asmat pra muñcat vy anhaḥ* TS The Vasus are address, even in TS, in the preceding half verse, TS here changes rather lamely to an address to Agni, who is address in the following pāda.

ihahaṣām kṛnuhi (TS MS KS TB *kṛnuta*) *bhojanāni* RV AV. VS. TS MS KS. ŚB TB Subject in RV is doubtless Indra, to whom the hymn is address, but no subject is mentioned in this verse (Mahidhara on VS understands Soma), several texts make the verb plural, referring presumably to gods in general

annam payo reto asmāsu (ŚB °*smāsu*) *dhatta* (MS ApŚ *dhehi*) VS MS. KS ŚB TB ŚŚ ApŚ All texts have adjoining formulae where Agni is spoken of in the third person, in this, MS ApŚ obviously regard Agni as address directly, while the other (and presumably more original) reading addresses it to some plural concept (TB comm gods, VS comm priests)

sam pra cyavadhvam upa (TS *anu*) *sam pra yāta* VS TS MS KS ŚB. *agne cyavasta sam anu pra yāhi* MS Followed by.

agne (MS *āvis*) *patho devayānān kṛnudhvam* (MS * *kṛnuṣva*) VS TS. MS (both) KS ŚB *agne pathah kalpaya devayānān* AV. In MS both forms are consistent with the context, since they are address (in adjoining stanzas) to Agni and to *devāh* respectively

In the others only AV is grammatically 'correct', since no other subject is named along with Agni and the plural is irrational, Mahidhara on VS blithely takes *kṛnudhvam* as meaning *kṛnuṣva*; but two other plural imperatives occur in the preceding in all YV texts, and they, like *kṛnudhvam*, are evidently address to the gods in general

revati predhā yajñapatim āvīṣa MS KS · *revati yajamāne priyam dhā āvīṣa* VS ŚB *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhānīṣata* TS ApŚ Acc to the Tait ritual texts (see Keith 45 n 5), address to the *vapāśra-ianās*, the two *darbhā*-stalks and the *plal-ṣa*-twig, but acc to TS comm, to the members of the sacrificial animal Acc to VS comm, Vāc is address

vratam kṛnuta (VSK adds *vratam kṛnu vratam kṛnuta*) VS VSK TS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ Acc to Mahidhara on VS 4 11 and KŚ, the formula *vratam kṛnuta*, 'prepare the fast-food', is to be repeated thrice The comm on KŚ says it is address to the *adhvaryu* etc, i e the *adhvaryu* and his assistants The three-fold repetition is actually found in VSK, but the second time with singular instead of plural; we may no doubt assume that this form (if textually sound) was address to a single priest (the *adhvaryu*?)

anulbanam vayata (KS *vayasi*) *joguvām apah* RV TS KS AB ApŚ On this 'obscure verse see Edgerton, *AJP* 40 188, 192 Four other parallel verbs, before and after this one in the same stanza, are all singular, address to Agni The subject of *vayata* is doubtful KS makes it consistent with the others, of course secondarily
ā mālārā śhāpayase jगतnū RV. AV.. *ā śhāpayata mālaram jगतnum* AV Followed by

ata inoṣi karvarā purūni RV AV. *ata invata karvarāni bhūni* AV In an obscure hymn to Indra, who is the subject in RV, in one AV passage there is a sudden change of subject (to whom?) in the second half of the stanza, the first half of which is still addressed to Indra, here also

§363. Singular and Dual

dhallam rayim sahavīram (ApMB *daśavīram*) *vacasyave* RV ApMB · *rayim dhehi sarvavīram vacasyam* AV Dual address to the Aśvins, who are address in the next pādas also in AV The singular must be understood as address to the bride, but it is not unfairly described as 'senseless' (Whitney)

yad ullaradrāv uparāṣ ca khādalah AV *yad apsaradrōr uparasya* (so Conc, but KS ed °drūr upa°, see note in text, ApŚ *apsararūpara-*

syā) *khādah* KS ApŚ In AV the subject is apparently the two *arānis*, in the others it must be Agni, but the passage is so obscure that Caland in his translation of ApŚ makes no attempt to render it.

atha jwṛr (ApMB *athā jwṛi*, RV *adhā jwṛi*) *vdatham ā vaddāsi* (RV. *vadāthah*) RV AV. ApMB (The true AV. reading seems to be *jwṛr*, see Whitney's note) In RV address to the married couple, altho in the preceding pāda the bride alone is address For this reason, doubtless, the later texts also address this pāda to the bride, by assimilation to the preceding

ṛtunā somam pibalam (KS °tu, MŚ °tām) KS MŚ ApŚ Subject Aśvins in ApŚ MŚ (*aśvinādhvaryū* MŚ), an unnamed priest in KS

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthwī ā pṛnethām (MS MŚ *pṛna*, LŚ *pṛnāthām* *sṛāhā*) TS MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ 'With ghee be filled (gratified), O heaven and earth', or, 'fill heaven and earth with ghee' (address to the post)

varunasya skambhasarjanam aśi (KS °ny aśi, VS. ŚB °nā sthah) VS TS. MS KS ŚB MahānU See Kerth on TS 1 2 8 2, note 7.

§364. Dual and Plural

tāv umā upa sarpatāh SV. JB *emām anu sarpatā* MS In SV said of a pair of horses

yenākṣā (ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*, SMB *yenākṣān*; PG *yenākṣyān*) *abhyasicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB °ṣṭīcalam, PG. °tām) AV ŚŚ SMB PG In AV. the expression is made passive, with *akṣā(h)* as subject, see §§332, 293

§365. Singular and Plural, with accompanying Change of Person

We list here only variants in which 2d and 3d person forms, singular and plural, interchange A few stray cases of 1st person interchanging with 2d and 3d, with shift of number, will be found above, §§302, 304, 312, 323

svar (TS *suvar*) *na śukṛam uśaso vi dīdyutuh* (RV °tah) RV TS MS 'Take bright heaven the dawns have shone forth (or, make thou the dawns to shine forth)'

ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādityāh sadantu VS ŚB. *vasūnām rudrānām ādityānām sadasi sīda* (KS *sadanam aśi*, MS *sado* 'sī *srucām yonih*) TS MS KS TB ApŚ

paktaudanasya sukrām etu lokam AV (in next stanza) *imam paktvā sukrām eta lokam* AV. Subject of *eta* is the grains composing the porridge (*odana*), that of *etu* is *paktā*, the cooker of the *odana* Conscious *vikāra*

hṛdo astv antaram iṣṭaḥ yujyaṣat (TA. *iṣṭa yujyata*) RV KS TA. 'Let (our song) be within (Parjanya's) heart, may he enjoy it' TA comm regards *yujyata* as addressed to the priests. 'unite it (viz our song, to Parjanya's heart)' But the reading is hardly more than a corruption, it has phonetic aspects (j y)

devaṣu nah sukrīto (mā sukrītam) brūtāl (brūta, brūyāt), and others, see §104, t The 3d person *brūyāt* is probably corrupt

yāś ca (yā) devīr (devyo) antān (with variants) *abhūto 'dadanta (talantha)*; see §220 The form *talantha* is corrupt, and may not even be intended for a 2d person

nīṣṭham va prati muñcata (°lām) AV. (both) 'Fasten ye on (another) like a neeklaee', or, 'let him fasten on himself' etc

indrām samatsu bhūṣata SV. *indrāḥ samatsu bhūṣatu* RV AV Preceded by *ā no viśvāsu havyāḥ* (SV *°yam*) 'Let Indra associate himself with us (SV praise ye Indra),—who is to be invoked (of us) in every conflict'

salakṣmā (MS KS *°ma*) *yad viśurūpam* (RV AV *°pā*) *bhavāti* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *viśurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS In RV AV of Yama (and Yamī), in YV different context, and scarcely interpretable 'when what is (ye that are) different become(s) similar.'

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu nah (TB *śṛnotana*) RV. TB N 'Bring ye (a hymn) to him of sharp weapons, may he hear us (hear ye)!' In TB the verb is assimilated mechanically to *bharatā*, its secondariness is attested by the strong form of the stem

ā sve yonau nīṣidatu (KS *°ta*) RV TS MS KS AB 'May he (the god) sit (or, sit ye—priests) in his (your) own home'

indrāya devebhyo juhutā (MŚ *°iām*, ApŚ *juṣatām*) *haviḥ svāhā* PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

indrāya pathibhir vahān (MS *vaha*) VS MS KS TB Original subject is *Aśvins* and *Sarasvatī*, in MS awkwardly changed to a priest *yānāḥ śubhrā rinann apah* RV *śubhā yāsi rinann apah* AV Subject *Maruts* in RV, in AV *Rohita*

ud dharṣaya maghavann (AV *satvanām*) *āyudhān* RV. AV. SV VS TS *ud dharṣantām maghavan vājīnān* AV. 'Let the energies be aroused, O *Māghavan*!' or, 'arouse the weapons, O M (the weapons of the warriors)'

tās tvā devīr (SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB HG *°sā*) *sam vyayantu* (PG *°yasva*) SMB PG HG ApMB MG *tās tvā jarase sam vyayantu* AV 'Let these (goddesses) wrap thee up unto (with) old age'; or, 'wrap thyself up' etc

śrā nah śantamā bhava (TA also *bhavantu*) AV AA TA (both).

AŚ LŚ TA by an addition in one form of the variant introduces a different subject; see Whitney on AV 7 68. 3

svadhābhūr yajñam sukṛtam juṣasva (TB *yajñam prayatam juṣantām*)

RV VS TB. In the original the subject is Agni, in TB it is made the *pitr̥s*, obviously because in Brāhmana times *svadhā* belongs particularly to them

tirgham āyuh kṛnotu me (AV * ApMB *vām*) AV. JB Kauś ApMB : *āyusmantam karota mā* (RVKh *karotu mām*; KS *kṛnota mā*) RVKh KS. TA BDh : *sarvam āyur dadhātu me* ApŚ Occurs in several contexts in AV., one of these (7. 33 1) is the same which occurs in all the other texts except Kauś and ApMB, the others are quite different. In the one verse found in the majority of texts, this *pāda* is found at the end; in the prec various gods (last, Agni) are invoked in the 3d person for blessings on 'me' ('you' KS ApŚ), here Agni alone is invoked, likewise in the 3d person, in all but KS TA BDh, where we have instead a 2d person address to the plurality of gods mentioned before. Note that the strong stem-forms *karota* and *kṛnota* are poor. This variant might be classed in §355.

8 Change of Number due to Change of Context, with different Subject

§366. In a large number of cases, as in the case of variations in Person, the shift of number is due to the use of the formula in a different context, involving change of the verb's subject. In some cases, as in the preceding subdivision, both person and number are changed, we list these cases at the end of this subdivision in so far as they concern shifts between second and third persons along with shift of number. A few cases of the same sort showing first person in variation with second or third, and accompanying shift of number, will be found among the Person variants, above, §§303, 304, 310, 324. Included are some ritualistic *āhas* and *vikāras*.

§367. Singular, Dual, and Plural

akṣans tām VS KS TB *aghasām tām* MS. TB : *aghat tam* VS. All aorists from root *ghas*. Contexts are different tho related, and with different subjects. See also under *akṣan* in Conc.

tayā devatayāñgrasvad dhruvā sīda VS TS etc (see Conc) *dhruvāh sīda* VS ŚB TA .. *dhruve sīdatam* VS *dhruvāh sīdata* TS. Also: *tena brahmanā dhruvāh sīdata* (and, *dhruvā sīda*) KS. (both), *tena chandasā* . and *tenarṣinā* ., see Conc

prānāya me varcodā varcase pavasva VS VSK TS ŚB. *prānāpānābhyām me varcodasau pavethām* MŚ In MŚ address to Upāṇśu and Antaryāma cups, in the others to Upāṇśu alone.

ā no yātām (yāhy) upāśrutī RV. (both) Address to the Aśvins or to Indra

vidhṛtīr asi TA ŚŚ · *vidhṛtī sthah* MS Different contexts

dīraś ca gmaś ca rājathah (rājasi) RV (both) See *RVRep.* 59.

rayam gr̥natsu didhṛtam (dhāraya) RV (both) See *RVRep.* 271, 528

rāyaspoṣam yajamāneṣu dhattam (dhehī; dhāraya) RV. (all)

sulānām pīṭm arhathah (arhasi) RV (both): *somānām pī° arhathah* RV. SV. See *RVRep.* 137

mā mā sam tāptam (ApŚ *tāpsih*) VS TS KS. TB PB ŚŚ LŚ.

ApŚ ApMB HG MG · *mā modoṣītam* (ŚŚ *modoṣih*) MS ŚB. ŚŚ.

The contexts are quite different and the formulas are only in part related to each other. Eg in TS Indra-Viṣṇu are the subject, in ŚB two fires, in ApŚ Agni, in ŚŚ *pṛthivī*

viṣvūrūpe ahanī dyaur wāsi (TA. * *wa sthah*) RV SV. TS. MS KS TA (thrice). N In one TA passage address to *dyāvāpṛthivī*, in the rest to a single deity Followed in same passage by:

viśvā hi māyā avasi svadhāvah (SV. °*van*; TA * *avalhah svadhāvantaū*), same texts

apriye prati muñca tat (Kauś † *muñcatam*) AV Kauś. In Kauś address to the Aśvins, in AV probably to an amulet Cf *apriyah prati muñcatām*, §30

pā indra (and, *pātām narā*) *pratibhṛtasya madhvah* RV (both) Dual address to Indra-Vāyu

āre bādhehām (MS * KS * *bādhasva*) *nūrṭim parācarah* RV. TS MS (both) KS (both): *bādhasva* (AV. *bādhehām*) *dūre* (AV. *dūram*, TS *dveṣo*) *nī° pa°* RV. AV. TS There are three different contexts; the sing is addressed to Varuna, the dual to Soma-Rudra or Mitra-varuna In some cases this is followed by:

hṛtam cid enah pra mumugdhy (AV. TS * *mumukṭam*) *asmai* (KS *asmāt*) RV AV. TS (both) MS KS See preceding.

ā modīcah pātām (KS * *pāhī*) MS KS (both). *te mā pātām āsya yajñasyodṛcāh* VS TS ŚB The sing form of KS is a *vikāra* of the other (in close proximity).

rāyas poṣam (KS' *tvastah poṣāya*) *vi śyatu* (AV. MS. KS *śya*) *nābhīm asme* (AV *asya*) AV VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ : *r. p vi śyatām n a* RV. MS. TB Subject of the dual is Soma-Pūṣan, of the sing. *Tvaṣṭar* (nom. or voc, see §329, end).

- ehy aśmānam ā tiṣṭha* AV ŚG Kauś MG : *ā tiṣṭhemam aśmānam* ApMB HG . *ā rohemam aśmānam* PG . *amam aśmānam ā roha* AG. SMB GG : *etam aśmānam ā tiṣṭhatam* MG Followed by
aśmeva tram sthūrā (MG ApMB* AVPpp *sthīro*) *bhava* AVPpp (for
 AV vulgate 2 13 4b *aśmā bhavatu te tanūh*) AG ŚG SMB PG
 ApMB HG MG : *aśmeta yuvām sthūrau bhavatam* MG The 2d
 (dual) version of MG in a *vikāra* of the other
asmān su jigyūṣas kṛdhī (*kṛtam*) RV. (both) Subjects Indra. Indra-
 Varuna
asme (AV * *asya*) *raym sarvavīram nī yachatam* (AV. * *yacha*) RV. AV
 (both)
bādhatām (TB °*etām*) *dveṣo abhayam* (AV * adds *nah*) *kṛnotu* (TB *kṛnu-*
tām) RV. AV VS TS MS KS TB Subjects Indra Tīṣya and
 Brhaspati

§369. Dual and Plural

- sumnāya sumnīnī sumne mā dhattam* TS TB ApŚ . *sumne sthah sumne*
mā dhattam VS ŚB . *sumnāyurah* (KS °*yavah*) *sumnyāya sumnam*
 (KS *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS KS The plural occurs in a different
 context from the dual
anu tvā viśve devā avantu (KS *viśve avantu devāh*) KS TB : *anu mūm*
mitrāvarunāv ihāvatām AA
śansāmo AB ApŚ *śansāvom*, *śansāvo* AB 3 12 1 GB Vait
 And other forms, see Conc Sacrificial exclamations, based upon
 verb-forms (dual referring to *hotar* and *adhvaryu*, plural to priests
 as a group?)
te māvantu AV TS PG *te* (and, *tau*) *māvatām* AV (in same hymn,
vikāras) See further in Conc under *tānī no 'vantu*
pra na spārṣābhīr ūtibhis tureta (°*tam*) RV (both) Maruts Indra-
 Varuna
raym dhattam (*dhattāha*; *dhattāho*) *vasumantam puruṣum* (*śalagrīnam*)
 RV (all) See RVRep 149
śarma ca stho varma ca sthah VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ . *śarma ca*
stha varma ca stha KS ApŚ Quite different contexts and subjects
sapatnān sahiṣmahi AV 3 6 4d; *sa° sahiṣitah* AV 19 32 5d, *sapa-*
nīm me sahāvahai RV. AV 3 18 5d ApMB So the AV vulgate,
 but *sahiṣitah* is an emendation (see Whitney's note), the mss of
 19 32 5 read °*mahi* This stanza is a repetition, with modifications
 to suit the new context, of 3 18 5, the dual is there proper, as the
 subject is *ubhe sahasiṣāni* of pīḍa c, referring to the amulet and the
 speaker of the charm (there a woman, in 19 32 5 changed to

ubhau sahasvantau because the speaker is a man) The dual is equally required by the sense in 19 32 5. Yet the vulgate Atharvan reading here is clearly *sahṣīmahi* (all mss and comm, altho Ppp has the correct **vahi*, Barret, JAOS 46. 42), which should be retained, obviously the entire pāda 3 6 4d, which belongs to a quite different context where the plural is required, has been mechanically imported without change into 19 32 5

etā asadan sukṛtasya loke TS. TB *pratīkas, etā asadan*, and (ūha) *etā asadatām*, ApŚ

§370. Singular and Plural

marutām prasave (VS ŚB **vena*) *jaya* (TS *jayata*) VS TS MS KS ŚB In TS address to the horses, in the others to the chariot.

Different contexts

tas mā u rādhaḥ kṛnuda praśastam (AV *kṛnuhi supraśastam*) RV AV

anu mā rabhadhnam (ŚŚ *rabhasva*) KS ApŚ ŚŚ Hardly to be called variants, different contexts

indrasya bhāga stha AV : *iṅ bhāgo 'sī* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ Also *devasya savitur bhāga* etc and others

duritātām (AV *duritāt*) *pātv anhasah* RV AV **duritāt pātv anhasah* (LŚ *viśvatah*) AV. LŚ Two different contexts; verb appropriate in both In AV we may suspect a mutual *rapprochement* in phraseology

edam barhur m śidata (AŚ ŚŚ *śida nah*) RV VS KB AŚ ŚŚ Different contexts

cakṣur me tarpayata (PG *tarpaya*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG Applied to a different context in PG Similarly with *śrotam*, *apānam*, *prānāpānu*, etc, and likewise

prānam me tarpayāta (ŚŚ *tṛmpa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. ŚC

mohayitvā nṛpadyate (RVKh *prapadyante*) RV 10 162 6b (correct ref.), AV RVKh MG.

viśvābhyo mā nāstrābhyaḥ (VS ŚB **bhyas*, MS *danstrābhyaḥ*) *pāhi* (TS. TB *pāta*, PG *paripāhi sarvataḥ*) VS. TS MS ŚB TB TA PG In TS address to the arrows used in the *rājasūya*; in VS acc to Mahidhara to *mahāvīradakṣinabhūm*

varco asmāsu dhātā (AŚ *dhehi*) AV AŚ *varco mayi dhehi* etc, see Conc Numerous items in different contexts, hardly to be considered variants

apo (TS *udno*) *dattodadhīm bhintā* (or *bhinta*) VS TS MS KS. *udno dehy udadhīm bhindhi* KS † There are two different contexts, both of which occur in TS MS KS In one the plural is appropriate,

gods being the subject In the other (TS 4 7 13 2, MS 2 12 3, KS 18 15) only a singular is appropriate, the subject required being Agni, altho KS is the only text that has the proper sing form Apparently MS TS copied mechanically from the other passage where the plur is required VS has the formula only in this latter (properly sing) context, but nevertheless has like TS MS plur forms, blandly interpreted by Mahidhara as singulars (*datta dehi, bhūntā bhūddhi*!)—At the end of the same passages occurs the following formula

tato no (KS *mā*) *vr̥ṣṭyāvata* (VS † and KS once, °*āva*) VS TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ Again KS varies consistently according to the subject, and is this time joined by VS (not noted in Conc), leaving only Tait and Maitr texts with inconsistent plurals where singulars are required

yām indrena (AV. adds *samdhām*) *samadadhvam* (TS *samadhadhvam*, AV *samadhatthāh*) AV TS MS KS (so correct Conc), see also Conc under *iyam vah sā*, *eṣā vas sā* The contexts are different, and both verbs are appropriate

āyātu (TB * *āyāntu*) *yañnam upa no juṣānah* (TB * °*nāh*) VS MS KS TB (both) Different contexts, subjects Indra Ādityas

apa jahi (*hata*) *pariṣham* ChU (both). Address to singular and plural deities respectively.

āyur me yacha (ApŚ * *yachata*) MS KS ApŚ (both) MŚ

ūrjam no dhehi (MS KS each once, *dhatta*) *dvipade catuṣpade* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AG ŚG. ApMB PrānāgU Occurs frequently, in several different contexts, sing number is appropriate in all but one which is address to *agnayah*, plur, the prec pāda being. *te virājam* (KS *samrājam*) *abhisamyantu sarve* (correct Conc for MS), MS 1 6 2d 88 2 and 89 7, KS 7 14d Here KS, and once MS, have the correct form *dhatta* In MS 88 2 the *samhitā* mss have incorrectly *dhehi* (note that this form of the variant occurs, in another context which requires the singular, in the same section of MS 86 19), the p p *dhatte* (!), pointing to the correct *dhatta*, which should probably be read here

yasyauśadhīh prasarpatha RV VS *yasyāñjanu prasarpasi* AV Followed in same verse by

tato yakṣmam vi bādhadhve (AV *bādhasē*) RV AV. VS

tatrcmam yañnam yañamānam ca dhehi (MŚ 5 2 16 14d *dhatta*, correct Conc) Vait KŚ MŚ (both) ApŚ Kauś In one of the two

occurrences in MŚ the verb is made plural because several priests are address, in the others only one is address
mayi ramasva (LŚ *ramadhvam*) SMB GG LŚ Hardly to be considered variants

karat AŚ · *karan* (ūha of *karat*) AŚ

gātum vritvā gātum ihi MS ApŚ *devā gātumido gātum vritvā* (VSK °*tum itvā*) *gātum ita* AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB In the sing form secondarily address to the animal as it is slaughtered

tasyāgne bhājayeha mā TB · *tasya bhājayateha nah* RV. AV SV VS. TS

MS KS TA ApMB The plural is address to waters

ye'smān abhyaghāyanti AV *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV

mama cittaṃ upāyasī AV · *mama cittaṃ cittenānvehi* HG *mama cittaṃ anu citlebhar eta* AV Hardly variants

pranaya Vait MŚ · *pranayata* AŚ To plurality of priests in AŚ Hardly variants?

mā me prajāyā (correct Conc). *prosrpa motsrpa* (also, °*pata*, °*pata*) TA. 1 14. 2-4 (each thrice) Modulations of the same formula with different subjects

yukṣvā (*yukṣdhvam*) *hy aruṣi rathe* RV (both) Subject Agni · Maruts
rayim ca nah sarvavīram nī yachata MS KS AŚ SMB · *nī yacha* AV.
 (see Conc for other sing parallels) As between singular and plural, quite different contexts and subjects

rāṣtram amuṣmar datta VS TS MS ŚB, ApŚ MŚ *rā° am° dehi* VS ŚB. The latter in stanza preceding the former, modulation with change of subject

śarma yacha catuṣpade AV : *śarma yachata dvīpade catuṣpade* RV

sindhōr ūrmā vy akṣaran (SV °*rat*) RV. SV Different contexts, subject in RV *indavah*, in SV *ayam* (= *somah*) *sa yah*

sukṛtām loke śidata (AV *śida*) AV TS MS Subjects *dakṣināḥ*: *odanah*

svadantu (*svadāti*, °*tu*) *havyam* (*yajñam*) *madhunā ghṛtēna*. Different contexts and subjects: plural form RV AV VS MS KS TB N ; sing VS MS KS TB The form *svadātu*, MS only, seems to be a blend of the other two

yaśah śtha yaśasvī bhūyāsam ApŚ (subject waters). *yaśo'si yaśo'ham tayaṃ bhūyāsam* (ApMB adds *asau*) ApMB HG (subject a man)
vīśā rūpāni puṣyata (°*yasi*) AV (both)

lokam me yajamānāya vinda (and, ūha, *vindata*) ChU (both) Subjects Agni or Vāyu Ādityas

yajñam nah pātu (TB *pāntu*) *rajasah* (TB *vasavah*) *parasmāt* (TB ApŚ. *purastāt*) MS. KS TB ApŚ

agna ājyasya vyanu vaughak; *agnim ā° vetu vau°*; *agninājyasya vyanu vau°*; *agnir ā° vetu vau°*, all ŚB 2 2 3 19.

apām oṣadhānām rasa stha TS. TB (not MŚ!) *apām puṣpam asy oṣadhānām rasaḥ* . PB TB LŚ ApŚ

āpura stā mā pūrayata ŚŚ : *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata* TS AŚ : *āprno 'si samprnah* (ApŚ corruptly, *āprnoṣi samprna*) *ā prna* ŚŚ ApŚ Four quite different contexts with different subjects

imam me agadam kṛta (AV, *kṛdhi*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB To one or more herbs; different contexts

kṛatam punīta (and, *punata*) *ānuṣak* RV. (both) 3d sg and pl impf mid

divas (SV *divah*) *prsthāny āruhan* (AV * °*hat*) AV. (both) SV Subjects *Aṅgrasas*: *Agni*.

§371. Change of Person (between 2d and 3d) with Change of Number
(a) Singular, Dual, and Plural

sunoty ā ca dhāvati RV.: *sunuta ā ca dhāvatah* RV : *sunotā ca dhāvata* AV. Cf *RVRep* 315 Verbs are all appropriate to the respective contexts

(b) Singular and Dual

chinttam kṛo api prsthī śrñtam AV · *prsthī vo 'pi śrñātu yātudhānā* AV. Subjects are *Aśvins* and *Rudra*, hardly comparable

pibataṁ somyam madhu RV. (quinques) SV : *pibāti so° ma°* RV. (semel) SV.

madhvā yajñam mimikṣātam (and, °*ti*) RV. (both)

śam no bhūtam dṛpade śam catuṣpade RV MS KS . *śam no bhava* etc , *śam na edhi* etc , *śam no astu* etc , in many texts and different connexions, see *Conc*

(c) Dual and Plural

madhye divah svadhayā mādayante (RV * °*yethe*) RV. (both) AV. VS See *RVRep* 118

ye kilālena tarpayatho (and, *tarpayanti*) *ye ghṛtena* AV (both) Subjects *Heaven* and *Earth*. *Māruts*

indravanta (ŚŚ °*ā*) *haviṣ idam juṣethām* TB ApŚ ŚŚ . *indravanio ha° i° juṣantām* TB ApŚ. *Vikāra*, subjects *śunāsīrau pūrah*

(d) Singular and Plural

ganān me mā vi tārṣah (MŚ °*sat*) TS MŚ · *ganān me mā vy arīrṣah* Vait · *ganā me mā vi tārṣan* VS TS ŚB : *ganair mā mā vi tārṣata* MS See §337

- rāyaś ca poṣair abhi nah sacadhīam* (and, *sacatām*) AV (both)
juṣasva havyam āhutam RV AV. VS TS MS KS · *juṣantām* TS.
 MS KS The last occurs in the same stanza as in RV. 3 22. 4 =
 VS 20 90, both of which read *juṣantām yaṣṇam adruhaḥ* Con-
 tamination between the two pādas is obvious
svām yonim api gachata (TB ApŚ * °tu) TB ApŚ (both) AŚ ApMB
 HG
iha sphātīm sam ā vahān (*vaha*) AV. (both) The second is a *vikāra*
 of the first
ārāc cid dveṣaḥ sanutar yuyotu (RV * °ta) RV (both) AV. VS TS MS
 KS N *ārāc cid dveṣo vṛṣano yuyota* RV
iṣam ūrjam yaṣamānāya dhehi (Vait *dattvā*; AV. *duhrām*) AV VS. TS.
 MS KS ŚB Vait Three different contexts, in AV, Vait, and
 YV texts respectively
mamāmitrān vi vidhyata (and, °tu) AV. (both) Cf. also *amitrān no*
vi vidhyatām AV
vśvam puṣyanti vāryam RV. AV *vi° puṣyasi vā°* RV. AV. SV. See
 RVRep 99
svastī rāye maruto dadhātana (MG, °tu *naḥ*) RV. KS. AB MG Knauer
 assumes that *maruto* is understood as a nom. sing and made the
 subject of *dadhātu* (perhaps for *māruto*). Certainly no 3d person is
 construable, Knauer's suggestion is hardly more than one of despair.
 But all his mss read thus, and the Baroda ed. (GOS 35, 1926) agrees.

9 Corruptions and Errors

§372. The following are merely corruptions or errors of one kind or another Some involve variants of person as well as number

(a) Singular and Dual

- antas tiṣṭhatu* (MG °to) *me mano 'mṛtasya ketuh* SMB HG MG All
 mss of MG read °to, and the Baroda ed agrees The form cannot
 be interpreted grammatically It must be either a phonetic
 variant (*u o*) or a mere corruption See Knauer's note
śrotāya me varcodā (TS °dau) *varcase* (MŚ omits) *pavasva* (TS *pave-*
thām) VS VSK. TS ŚB MŚ. So the Conc wrongly supplies in
 TS 3 2 3 2, after the abbreviation *śrotāya* which is all that the
 text reads It is address to a soma-cup (*graha*), and clearly a
 singular expression, not a dual, is understood No variant exists.
 Similarly under *aṅgebhyo me*.

(b) Dual and Plural

supippalā oṣadhāḥ kartanāśme (AV *kartam asma*, VSK *kartam asme*)
 AV. VS VSK MS Subject is *Śunāsirā* (dual) Mahidhara can find nothing to say except that the plural form *kartana* is used in the sense of the dual It is, indeed, hard to imagine who else may be included in the subject (gods in general?)

viśvāḥ pinvathah (TB °*iha*) *svasarasya dhenāḥ* RV MS TB The TB form is to be taken as intending *pinvathah*, dual (sandhi before s+cons).

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnam nah (TB TA *ṛnāni*) AV TB TA *apsara-sām anudattānṛnāni* MS The MS reading is badly corrupt, *anudatta* is uninterpretable, p p *anu*, *dattāni*, *ṛnāni*, which is just as bad

indrāvathuh (VSK °*dhuḥ*, KS * TB ApŚ °*am*) *kāvyaṭ* (TB ApŚ *karmanā*) *dansanābhūḥ* RV AV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ The VSK reading is only a corruption, phonetic in character (sonant for surd); and yet a 3d person (dual!) seems required in all texts; see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 10 131 5

(c) Singular and Plural

punsah kartur mātary āsiṣkta JB *punsā kartṛā mātari mā n śiṇca* KBU The Conc says 'read *śiṇcata*' for KBU In any case a 2d plural form must be read, according to Deussen, 60 Up 25, three mss read *mā āsiṣkta*, nearly as in JB

mātā jaghanyā sarpata (HG *gachanti*, read *gachati*, Kirste) ApMB HG *pibā somam indra mandatu* (Svidh erroneously *mandantu*) *tṛā* RV AV SV TS AB KB PB AA AŚ ŚŚ Vait Svidh

hastacyuti (SV °*am*) *janayanā* (SV † °*yata*) *praśastam* RV SV KS KB ApŚ MŚ N Subject is *naro*, in preceding pāda, unless this is felt in SV as singular, from the later stem *nara*, the verb-form is uninterpretable Benfey translates as plural, regarding the form as anomalous

aram aśvāya gāyati (SV °*ta*) RV SV Subject is the n pr Śrutakakṣa in the next pāda (nom in RV, voc in SV) The plural verb in SV is anomalous, it is perhaps vaguely felt as including the associates of Ś (cf §§353 ff), or as a plural of respect (? unlikely)

agnihotrenedam havir ajuṣatāvīvr̥dhata (AŚ °*vīvr̥dhanta*) *maho jyāyo 'kr̥ta* TS AŚ Read in both texts (with TB Poona ed) *agnir hotrenedam 'vr̥dhata* AŚ is doubly corrupt In the same passage, just before this, the same formula with *devā ājyapā(h)* as subject, read in AŚ (1 9 5) *mahō jyāyo 'kr̥ta* (text 'h̥r̥ta, this section is listed as a separate formula in Conc, see §367)

tam te duścakṣā māva khyan TS. 3. 2 10 2 (so Conc, but the reading is *khyat*, followed by *m-*, hence *n* by sandhi): *duścakṣās te māva lśat* (*khyat, kṣat*) MS KS

sarasvatyā ([°]*tyām*) *adhī manāv* (with variants) *acarṣṣuh* (KS *acarṣ*°, SMB *carṣṣdhi*, but Jørgensen *acarṣṣuh*) AV. KS TB ApŚ. MŚ SMB PG See §§136, 236

adārasṛd bhavata (AV [°]*tu*·*deva soma* AV TB ApŚ *bhavata* is apparently assimilated mechanically to *mṛdatā* of the next pāda, of which *maruto* is the subject Here *soma* is addressed, and the subject is *adārasṛd*, *bhavata* makes no sense, Caland renders *bhavatu* in ApŚ Yet *bhavata* is read in both edd of TB, and was clearly the Tait. school reading TB comm fatuously makes *bhavata* equivalent to *bhava*.)

ā pitaran vaśvānaram avase kah (PB *kuh*; comm *kah* = *kuru*) PB KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Perhaps only a misprint in PB

dwodāsāya randhayaḥ (SV [°]*yan*) RV. SV. Tho Benfey keeps *randhayan* in his text, he translates 'du ubergabst', as if [°]*yah*, so the comm., *saṃvītavān asī*; *randhayan* is hopeless (perhaps felt as nom sg pple ?)

svastī caratād iha (SMB *ayam*; MG *caratā dīśah*) Kauś SMB. ApMB HG. MG Spoken by the *guru* at the *upanayana*; *caratād* is 3d person, subject is the boy In MG *caratā* is only a corruption, phonetic in character, note the following *d-*, and compare the extensive section on 'False Divisions' which will appear in our volume on Phonetics.

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